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FILE No. **NB** *R 3/303/1*

(1-40)
(Part A)

TITLE: *POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN IRAQ AND THE SOVIET UNION*

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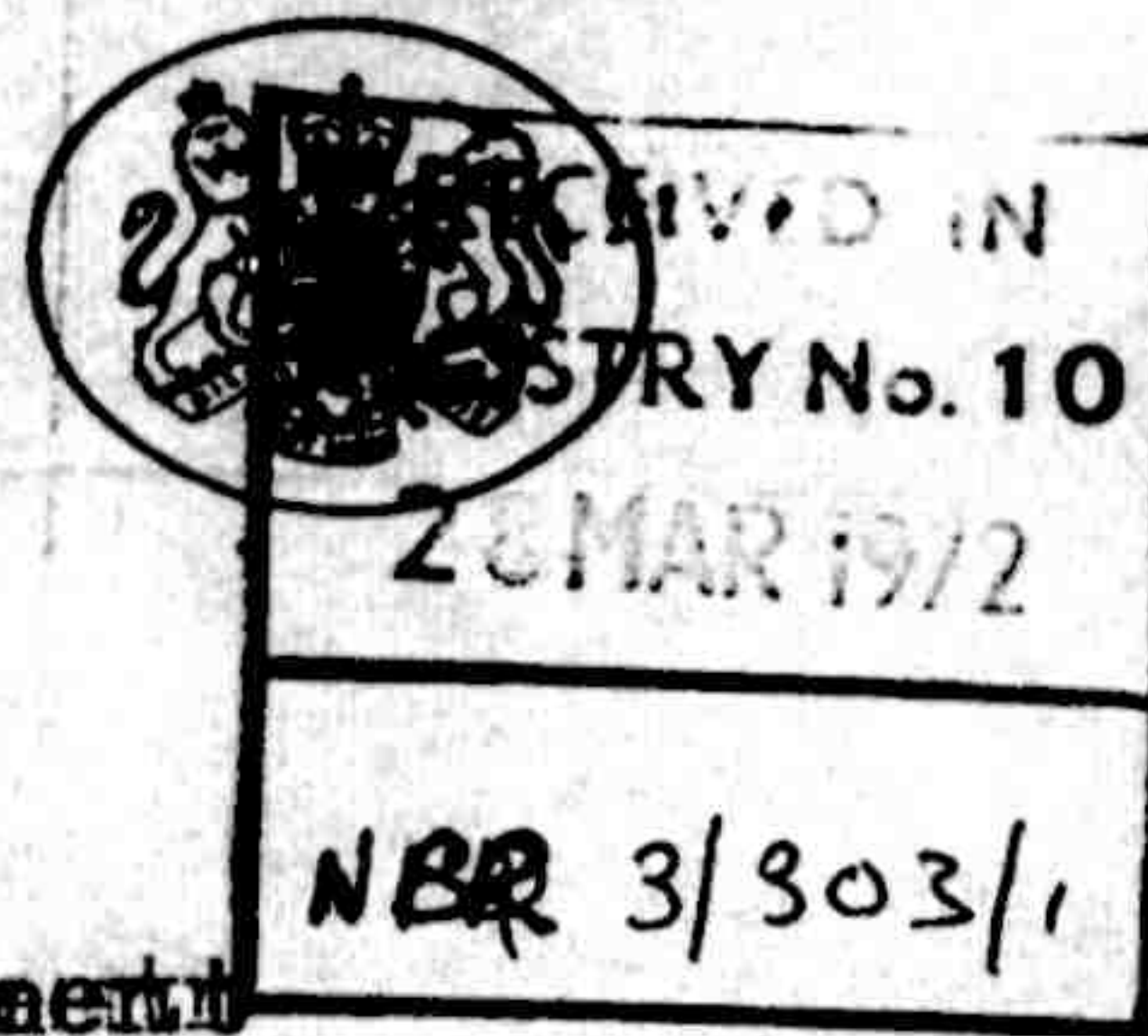
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A
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BRITISH EMBASSY
MOSCOW
27 March 1972

S L Egerton Esq
Near Eastern Department
FCO

Dean Egerton

SOVIET UNION/IRAQ

Regy - for action

in para 2 pt. 1. sent by Rm 6/4.

28/3

NEQ 3/303/1 (28)

- 1. Please refer to Murray's letter of 16 March enclosing a copy of a Reuter report from Moscow of 11 March.

NEQ 3/303/1 (29)

- 2. My two letters 3/7 of 16 March to Kay dealt with Soviet press coverage of the Kurdish anniversary, including the article referred to by Reuters, and the visit of the Iraqi Ba-ath party delegation. (I apologise for not having copied these to Teheran and will ensure that they get copies of similar correspondence in future. Since I am sending this by unclassified bag, however, I wonder if I could ask you to pass copies of them to Teheran).
3. On the Pravda article of 11 March, our attitude was somewhat less sanguine than that of Reuters. The call to form strong domestic fronts was, of course, already familiar from the Iraqi and Syrian communiques.
4. I should perhaps clear up a misunderstanding about the Iraqi Ba-ath party visit which was not in fact commented upon in the Pravda article as Murray's letter implies. Their arrival was apparently announced on TASS but not in the Soviet press on 5 April, and they departed, according to Pravda, on 15 March. The only other reference to them in the press was in a report of a reception at the House of Friendship on 13 March to celebrate the Kurdish anniversary.

Yours sincerely
M J Robinson

M J Robinson

c.c. D F Murray, Esq TEHERAN
Chancery, Cairo

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FM MOSCOW 060625Z

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RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 -6 APR 1972
NBR 9/303/2

TO IMMEDIATE FCO TEL NO 489 OF 6 APRIL 1972.
INFO PRIORITY TO BEIRUT, CAIRO, BAGHDAD AND TEHERAN.

SOVIET UNION/IRAQ.

GERMAN CHARGE HAS BEEN TOLD BY GVISHIANI (DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF STATE COMMITTEE FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND ALSO KOSYGIN'S SON-IN-LAW) THAT KOSYGIN WILL FLY TO IRAQ TODAY FOR TOMORROW'S OPENING OF NORTH RUMEILIA OIL FIELD. REUTERS BUREAU IN BAGHDAD HAVE APPARENTLY PICKED UP SAME STORY FROM OFFICIAL IRAQI NEWS AGENCY.

2. SOVIET PRESS, HAS SO FAR MADE NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF A VISIT ALTHOUGH PRAVDA AND IZVESTIA YESTERDAY BOTH CARRIED ARTICLES REFERRING TO THE OPENING OF THE OILFIELD.

KILLICK

FILES

MED
EESD
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RES D (SOV SECT)
MR PARSONS

pal 12/4

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FFFFF

Cutting dated 4 APR 1972 19

Mr. Burton o/a.

Moscow turns to Iraq in search of a more secure foothold than Egypt in the Arab world

A fair summary of the post. 4

From Paul Martin
Beirut, April 3

With a show of the Russian flag in Iraq ports a new era in Soviet-Iraq friendship is to be launched this week.

This latest Russian incursion into the Arab world may well be sealed by a treaty of mutual friendship and cooperation on the Egyptian pattern. It will also mark a shift in the emphasis of Russian dealings with the Arabs.

The Baathist regime, isolated from the rest of the Arab camp, has set aside its national day next Friday for the event. Baghdad radio has announced that a Soviet flotilla is steaming towards the country's three Persian Gulf ports. The ships include a number of tankers to lift off the first shipments of oil from the nationalized North Rumaila field.

Although there has been no word from Moscow on the subject, earlier Iraq statements have said that the ruling Soviet triumvirate, Mr Brezhnev, Mr Kosygin and President Podgorny, are to visit Baghdad this month.

Since the Iraq regime has indicated that it wants to put its relationship with Moscow on a treaty basis, it is assumed that if the Soviet leaders do visit Baghdad then it will be with a treaty in hand.

There have been growing signs in recent months that the Russians are interested in making of Iraq a

more solid base for their operations in the future. Certainly the severe setbacks that they suffered in other parts of the Arab world have been important factors leading to this trend. The Russians are still having trouble with Egypt, their main Arab ally, and the abortive left-wing coup in Sudan damaged their standing elsewhere.

However, there are other reasons which are also important. Iraq, with its political pretensions in the Persian Gulf, would welcome a more tangible Soviet involvement in the area and has already shown itself a willing host to visiting units of the Russian fleet.

For the Russians, involvement with Iraq holds far fewer dangers than the imponderables of being dug in along the Suez Canal. Further, the isolationism and radical bent of the Baathist regime offer the hope of an alliance without the complexities of the relationship with Egypt.

The first signs that Iraq was interested in binding itself to the Soviet Union came after Egypt signed the 15-year treaty of friendship and cooperation with Russia last May. However, it is only in recent months that things have begun to crystallize.

The visit to Moscow of an Iraq delegation, led by Mr Siddam al-Takriti, capped several months of to-ing and fro-ing between Moscow and Baghdad to strengthen all manner of ties.

Mr Takriti, vice-chairman of the Revolution Command Council and secretary-general of the Baath

Party, is the power behind the Baghdad regime. He indicated after his visit that Iraq was interested in concluding a treaty with the Russians. It was therefore assumed that during his meetings with the Soviet leaders the complexities of such a relationship were discussed thoroughly.

Certainly the Soviet Union has moved into a preeminent role in Iraq, pumping aid into development projects, particularly in the petroleum industry. About £80m in Soviet equipment and technical assistance has gone into the North Rumaila oilfield, which has now come on stream.

The field, which is to be run by the Iraq National Oil Company, was seized from the Western-owned Iraq Petroleum Company in 1964. First reports claim that its production will rise from five million tons a year to an estimated 18 million tons in three years' time.

In addition to Soviet interests in the industrial base, Russia is the second biggest exporter to Iraq. That the Russians' motives are political as well as economic is shown by Soviet statements that they are paying "great attention" to the development of relations with the Baath Party.

Even if expectations in Iraq of a treaty of friendship and co-operation are not fulfilled in the coming month, there is no doubt that there will be some sort of formal relationship in the near future. This, of course, will be conditioned by Soviet intentions in the Gulf.

RECEIVED IN
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- 5 APR 1972

NBQ 3/303B

- 6 APR 1972

cutting dated 19

BS 12 (B4)

Iraq expects Kosygin visit for launching of oil operations

BY RICHARD JOHNS, MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

MR. ALEXEI KOSYGIN, the Soviet Prime Minister, is expected to attend to-morrow's celebrations in Iraq marking the start of commercial operations at the North Rumaila oilfield which was expropriated from the Western-owned Iraq Petroleum Company in 1961.

If he does make the journey, it could culminate in the signing of a treaty of friendship and co-operation of the sort the Soviet Union concluded last year with Egypt.

'Historic' event

According to the Iraqi News Agency, Mr. Kosygin will arrive to-day at the head of a high-level delegation. In Moscow, there was no confirmation yesterday that he would be making the trip, but it was clear that Russia is taking seriously an event described by Pravda as of "truly historic importance for the Iraqi people."

For the Kremlin, the occasion is particularly important because the seizure of North Rumaila

(along with 99 per cent. of IPC's concession area) amounted to what Pravda described as "the privileges of foreign oil companies."

Development of the North Rumaila field and construction of a pipeline to Fao on the Gulf has been made possible by Soviet financial and technical aid. Initially, output is expected to be at the rate of 5m. tons a year, rising to 18m. tons by 1974 and 40m. tons by 1979.

IPC has threatened to take legal action against purchasers of the oil. The first confrontation could come with the Italian State oil corporation ENI which last month agreed to buy 2m. tons of North Rumaila oil annually over the next 10 years.

A treaty of friendship and co-operation was foreshadowed last month when Mr. Sidam Hussein Takriti, Iraqi Vice-President and the Baghdad regime's "strong man," went to Moscow. The communiqué issued then said that measures would be taken "as soon as possible

to raise the existing relationship between the two countries to a higher level that will take a treaty form."

He went!

M. Buntova 10/4

<p>RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 35 - 7 APR 1972</p>
<p>NSQ 3/303</p>

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EN CLAIR

FM MOSCOW 071400Z

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IN R.GISTRY No. 35 10 APR 1972 NBR 3/303/3

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TO IMMEDIATE F C O TEL NO.. 504 OF 7 APRIL 1972, INFO PRIORITY

CAIRO ,BEIRUT, TRIPOLI ,BAGHDAD,TEHRAN, ROUTINE KUWAIT,AMMAN,
TEL AVIV,WASHINGTON ,PARIS AND UKDEL NEW YORK .

①
MY TEL NO 489 OF 6 APRIL (NOT TO ALL) : KOSYGIN'S VISIT TO IRAQ.

1. THIS MORNING'S PRAVDA ANNOUNCES THE ARRIVAL IN BAGHDAD ON THE AFTERNOON OF 6 APRIL OF A SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND PARTY DELEGATION HEADED BY PRIME MINISTER KOSYGIN '' TO TAKE PART IN THE CEREMONIES ON THE OCCASION OF THE BRINGING INTO OPERATION OF THE FIRST LARGE NATIONAL OILFIELD AT NORTH RUMEILIA''. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION ARE : V D SHASHIN, MINISTER FOR THE OIL INDUSTRY , E I KUSKOV , FIRST DEPUTY HEAD OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, I V ARKHIPOV , FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND M D SYTENKO , HEAD OF THE NEAR EAST DEPARTMENT. IN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS .

2. THE DELEGATION IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN MET BY VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMAND COUNCIL , SADDAM HUSSEIN, MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE KURDISH DEMOCRATIC AND IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTIES . ON THE SAME DAY KOSYGIN CALLED ON THE PRESIDENT OF THE IRAQI REPUBLIC , AKHMED HASSAN BAKR AND HAD TALKS WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN.

KILLICK

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED].

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18/12/72

6 APR 1972

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Soviet interest in Iraq 18

THE Soviet Union's foothold in an important centre of the Arab world is likely to be consolidated this week when Mr. Alexei Kosygin is expected to pay his first visit to Iraq. The odds are that the Russian Premier will sign a treaty of friendship and co-operation with Iraq along the lines of the one concluded last May with Egypt. If the Egyptian document is taken as a model, then the Soviet Union's interest in Iraq's affairs—in particular, the safeguarding of "socialist gains"—would be formalised.

Strained

True, the provisions in the Soviet-Egyptian treaty have not amounted to much in this respect. On a working level, relations between Moscow and its client state are more strained now than before President Podgorny arrived in Cairo nearly a year ago with a draft ready for signing. The Kremlin, meanwhile, still distrusts President Sadat and his politically moderate regime. There has been friction recently between the Egyptian military command and Russian advisers. Cairo has shown signs of growing frustration because its heavy involvement with the Soviet Union and increasing indebtedness has not brought nearer the recovery of Israeli-occupied territory.

The Kremlin may well have decided that Iraq would make a more reliable ally. The oppressive Baathist regime in Baghdad is feared and hated by the bulk of Iraq's population. But, largely as a result of ruthless repression, its power is unchallenged except by the Kurds. Politically, Iraqi Baathism is far to the left of Egypt's Arab Socialism and the Baghdad regime has agreed to incorporate in a national front the local Communists. However, close links with a cliquish regime so unpopular in the Arab world at large can only be marginal to Russian involvement in the central Middle East conflict. The tightening of the Soviet Union's relationship with

Iraq should, therefore, be seen primarily in the context of Russian interest in the Gulf and Iraq's own revolutionary ambitions in the region.

Here, as elsewhere, an integral part of the Soviet Union's geopolitical strategy is to make its military presence felt. At present, Iraq is the only State in the Gulf willing to offer the Soviet Union naval facilities. The appearance of Mr. Kosygin would coincide with the arrival of a Russian flotilla at the head of the Gulf. It can be assumed that Soviet naval visits to the port of Umm Qasr will become more frequent if a treaty is signed. Growing evidence of the Russian intention to "show the flag" in the Gulf has already led to a distinct cooling in Iran's attitude to Moscow. A Soviet-Iraqi treaty would increase the chances of a Big Power confrontation in the Gulf, where the U.S. last year obtained minimal naval facilities as a result of its agreement with Bahrain.

Manoeuvres

Behind these manoeuvres lies, of course, the Soviet Union's interest in weakening the West's control of the Gulf's oil resources. On Friday, Mr. Kosygin will almost certainly be present at the inauguration of the North Rumaila field and the first shipments from it. The field was discovered by the Iraq Petroleum Company, but expropriated from it in 1961 together with the greater part of of the Western-owned company's concession area. Recently, vigorous approval for the illegal seizure has been expressed by Moscow whose financial and technical aid have made possible the field's development. A significant proportion of North Rumaila oil will probably be shipped to East Europe where the Soviet Union is expected to find it increasingly hard to satisfy its allies' petroleum needs. In the long-term, Iraq could prove to be a more amenable and useful client to the Soviet Union than Egypt.

RECEIVED IN	REGISTRY No. 35	7 APR 1972	NBR 3/303/1
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and in gaining control over an Arab oil producer.

Too strong

M. Allen

H. Burton & Co.

A useful summary
of the present position.

2. We do not yet
know for certain
whether Kosygin will
go to Baghdad tomorrow

(though the signs
point that way) or
who will accompany

him. We may have to look
again at our ideas on USSR/Iraq
in the light of any visit.

8/m/1
6/4

Y4: This are interesting implications
eg. to the future pattern of
Iraqi subversive activity in
the Gulf. Has there been a recent
JIC assessment? N. Smith
D. Smith 6/4

EN CLAIR

OM BAGHDAD 100615Z

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TO ROUTINE FCO TELNO 193 OF 10 APRIL 72 INFO ROUTINE
TO MOSCOW, BEIRUT, TEHRAN, KUWAIT, CAIRO AND TRIPOLI

IRAQ - SOVIET TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION.

FOLLOWING IS UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF TREATY AS PUBLISHED
IN BAGHDAD OBSERVER OF 10 APRIL .

REGISTERED IN REGISTRY No.35 10 APR 1972 NBR 3/303/1

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ AND THE USSR.

BELIEVING THAT THE CONTINUATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF
FRIENDSHIP AND COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN THEM
CONFORMS WITH THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES
SERVES THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE ENTIRE WORLD AND IN THE
REGION OF THE ARAB STATES AS WELL AS THE INTERESTS OF
THE FREEDOM, SECURITY AND SOVEREIGNTY OF PEOPLES ;
REALISING THAT THE HEIGHTENING OF SALIDARITY BETWEEN ALL
FORCES OF PEACE AND PROGRESS, INCLUDING THE CONSOLIDATION
OF THE UNITY OF THE ARAB STATES ON THE BASIS OF FIGHTING
IMPERIALISM, CONSTITUTES AN IMPORTANT MEDIUM IN THE STRUGGLE
FOR INTERNATIONAL DURABLE PEACE AND SECURITY ;
INSPIRED BY THE IDEALS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM,
COLONIALISM, ZIONISM AND REACTION AND FOR THE FREEDOM,
INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS OF PEOPLES ;
BELIEVING IN THE FACT THAT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF THE
CONTEMPORARY WORLD MUST BE SOLVED THROUGH COOPERATION AND
BE MEANS OF SOLUTIONS ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES CONCERNED ;
EMPHASISING THEIR PEACELOVING FOREIGN POLICY AND THEIR
FIDELITY TO THE OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER ;
DESIROUS OF DEVELOPING AND CONSOLIDATING FRIENDLY RELATIONS,
COOPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST BETWEEN THEM AND KEEN ON
ELEVATING THESE TO A NEW AND HIGHER STANDARD ;
HAVE RESOLVED TO CONCLUDE THIS TREATY, AND AGREED ON THE
FOLLOWING :

/THE TWO

ARTICLE ONE

THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DECLARE THAT A PERMANENT AND UNBREAKABLE FRIENDSHIP SHALL CONTINUE TO EXIST BETWEEN THEM. COMPREHENSIVE COOPERATION SHALL DEVELOP BETWEEN THEIR TWO COUNTRIES AND THEIR TWO PEOPLES IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, TRADE, TECHNICAL, SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND OTHER SPHERES ON THE BASIS OF RESPECTING NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND NON-INTERVENTION BY EITHER SIDE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE OTHER.

ARTICLE TWO

THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ AND THE USSR DECLARE THAT THEY SHALL COOPERATE CLOSELY AND COMPREHENSIVELY FOR ASSURING THE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR PRESERVING THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND THEIR CONTINUITY AND DEVELOPMENT AND RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF EACH OF THEM OVER ITS NATURAL RESOURCES IN FULL.

ARTICLE THREE

THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, STEADILY PURSUING THE POLICY OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE BETWEEN COUNTRIES OF DIFFERING SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND IN KEEPING WITH THEIR PEACE-LOVING FOREIGN POLICY, SHALL CONTINUE TO STAND FOR PEACE IN THE WHOLE WORLD AND FOR RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF FULL AND COMPREHENSIVE DISARMAMENT INCLUDING THE BANNING OF NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS UNDER AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL.

ARTICLE FOUR

THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, ADHERING TO THE IDEALS OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY BETWEEN ALL PEOPLES DENOUNCE IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM OF ALL FORMS AND WILL GO ON WAGING A RESOLUTE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM AND FOR THE COMPLETE, FINAL AND UNCONDITIONAL LIQUIDATION OF IMPERIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION. THE TWO PARTIES CALL FOR THE PROMPT AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UN DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO ALL

. /COLONIAL

COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES. THE TWO PARTIES SHALL CO-OPERATE WITH OTHER PEACE-LOVING COUNTRIES FOR BOLSTERING THE JUST STRUGGLE OF PEOPLES FOR SOVEREIGNTY, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

ARTICLE FIVE

THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, ATTACHING GREAT IMPORTANCE TO ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THEM, SHALL WORK CONSTANTLY TO EXPAND AND DEEPEN THIS CO-OPERATION, TO INCLUDE EXCHANGING EXPERT KNOWLEDGE IN INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION AND WATER RESOURCES AND THE EXPLOITATION OF OIL AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES AS WELL AS COMMUNICATIONS, TRANSPORT AND OTHER BRANCHES OF ECONOMY AND RAISING NATIONAL CADRES.

THE TWO PARTIES SHALL EXPAND TRADE AND SHIPPING BETWEEN THEM ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY, MUTUAL BENEFIT AND THE MOST PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT SYSTEM.

ARTICLE SIX

THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES SHALL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP TIES AND CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THEM IN THE DOMAINS OF SCIENCE, ARTS, LETTERS, EDUCATION, PUBLIC HEALTH, THE TV., BROADCASTING CINEMA, THE TV., TOURISM, PORTS AND OTHER FIELDS.

THE TWO PARTIES SHALL EXPAND COOPERATION AND DIRECT CONTACTS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS AND SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC ORGANISATIONS AND ESTABLISHMENTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES WITH THE OBJECT OF GETTING EACH OF THE TWO PEOPLE TO HAVE FULLER KNOWLEDGE OF THE LIFE, WORK AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE OTHER PEOPLE.

ARTICLE SEVEN

THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, DEVOTING GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE QUESTION OF COORDINATING THEIR FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANE IN THE INTEREST OF ASSURING WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY AND DEVELOPING POLITICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND THE SOVIET UNION, SHALL MUTUALLY CONSULT REGULARLY AND ON ALL LEVELS OVER ALL IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES WHICH HAVE A BEARING ON THE INTERESTS OF EITHER COUNTRY AS WELL AS OVER MATTERS RELATED TO THE SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS.

/ARTICLE

ARTICLE EIGHT

IN THE EVENT OF THE ARISING OF CONDITIONS JEOPARDISING THE SECURITY OF EITHER PARTY OR CONSTITUTING A THREAT TO PEACE OR VIOLATION OF PEACE, THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES SHALL CONSULT FORTHWITH WITH THE OBJECT OF COORDINATING THEIR POSITIONS SO AS TO REMOVE THE EMERGENT DANGER OR RE-ESTABLISH PEACE.

ARTICLE NINE

IN THE INTEREST OF THE SECURITY OF BOTH COUNTRIES, THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES SHALL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP COOPERATION IN THE WAY OF REINFORCING THE DEFENSIVE POWER OF EACH OF THEM.

ARTICLE TEN

EACH OF THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DECLARES THAT IT SHALL NOT BECOME A PARTY TO AN ALLIANCE OR JOIN IN ANY INTERNATIONAL GROUPING OR ANY ACTS OR MEASURES DIRECTED AGAINST THE OTHER HIGH CONTRACTING PARTY. EACH OF THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES SHALL UNDERTAKE NOT TO PERMIT ITS TERRITORY TO BE USED FOR CARRYING OUT ANY ACTION THAT MIGHT CAUSE MILITARY JEOPARDY TO THE OTHER PARTY.

ARTICLE ELEVEN

THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DECLARE THAT THEIR COMMITMENTS UNDER INTERNATIONAL TREATIES NOW IN FORCE DO NOT CONFLICT WITH THE RULES OF THIS TREATY, AND UNDERTAKE NOT TO CONCLUDE ANY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONFLICTING WITH IT.

ARTICLE TWELVE

THIS TREATY SHALL RUN FOR A PERIOD OF 15 YEARS AND SHALL BE AUTOMATICALLY RENEWED EVERY FIVE YEARS THEREAFTER UNLESS EITHER OF THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES NOTIFIED THE OTHER PARTY OF ITS DESIRE TO TERMINATE THE VALIDITY OF THE TREATY, GIVING A TWELVE MONTH NOTICE FOR THAT.

:/ARTICLE THIRTEEN

ARTICLE THIRTEEN

ANY DISAGREEMENT IN VIEWPOINTS OVER THE INTERPRETATION OF ANY OF THE PARAGRAPHS OF THIS TREATY, AS MIGHT ARISE BETWEEN THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, SHALL BE SETTLED BY THE TWO PARTIES IN A SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP, UNDERSTANDING AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

ARTICLE FOURTEEN

THIS TREATY SHALL BE SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION AND SHALL COME INTO FORCE ON THE DAY OF WHICH THE INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION WILL BE EXCHANGED IN MOSCOW AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE.

THIS TREATY WAS DONE IN TWO COPIES ONE IN ARABIC AND THE OTHER IN RUSSIAN, BOTH OF WHICH ARE AUTHENTIC.

WRITTEN IN BAGHDAD ON 25 SAFAR 1392, A.H. APRIL 9, 1972

SIGNED

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

AHMED HASSAN AL-BAKR

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

FOR THE USSR

A.N. KOSYGIN

PRIME MINISTER OF USSR.

DONOVAN

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INOTNNNN ZCZ
BBC B

B65 SOVIET OIL MINISTER ACCOMPANIES KOSYGIN

THE IRAQI NEWS AGENCY - INA REPORTS THAT THE CPSU-SOVIET GOVERNMENT DELEGATION ACCOMPANYING MR. KOSYGIN INCLUDES VALENTIN DMITRIYEVICH SHASHIN, CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE CANDIDATE MEMBER AND MINISTER OF THE PETROLEUM EXTRACTION INDUSTRY AND IVAN VASILYEVICH ARKPOV, FIRST DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE STATE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS.

E

END BBC MON CRY 674 1840 SWD

N.E.P.

B69 KOSYGIN CALLS ON SADDAM HUSAYN: OFFICIAL TALKS TO START
SATURDAY

(BAGHDAD RADIO) SADDAM HUSAYN, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE BAATH
PARTY REGIONAL COMMAND AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF THE REVOLUTION
COMMAND COUNCIL, TONIGHT RECEIVED PREMIER KOSYGIN AND HIS
DELEGATION.

THE IRAQI NEWS AGENCY REPORTS THAT DURING THIS CORDIAL
MEETING THE TWO SIDES DISCUSSED THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO
FRIENDLY COUNTRIES AND MEANS TO PROMOTE AND STRENGTHEN
THEM. COMRADE KOSYGIN AND HUSAYN REVIEWED PRELIMINARY
MATTERS PERTAINING TO THE OFFICIAL TALKS WHICH WILL BEGIN
SATURDAY.

END BBC MON 10 10 10 HA GYD TVN

B78 IRAQ: AL-BAKR RECEIVES KOSYGIN

CBANDAD 0210Z PRESIDENT AHMAD HASAN AL-BAKR, SECRETARY OF THE REGIONAL COMMAND OF THE ARAB SOCIALIST B A PARTY, RECEIVED ALEKSEY KOSYGIN, MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO OF THE U.S.S.R. CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND HIS DELEGATION AT THE REPUBLICAN PALACE TODAY. THE MEETING LASTED ABOUT 90 MINUTES.

ME BBO MON 6/4 211Z

PRIORITY

EN CLAIR

FM MOSCOW 100715Z

UNCLASSIFIED

TO PRIORITY F.C.O. TELNO...509 OF 10TH APRIL 1972.

INFO TO PRIORITY CAIRO, BEIRUT, BAGHDAD, TEL AVIV AND AMMAN.

ROUTINE WASHINGTON, PARIS, UKMIS NEW YORK AND TEHERAN.

KOSYGIN'S VISIT TO IRAQ.

FOLLOWING IS TASS TRANSLATION OF SOVIET/IRAQI TREATY OF
FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION PUBLISHED IN TODAY'S "PRAVDA" :

BEGINS :

"THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE IRAQI REPUBLIC"
FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSHIP
AND ALL-ROUND COOPERATION BETWEEN THEM ACCORDS WITH THE NATIONAL
INTERESTS OF BOTH STATES. SERVES THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE
WHOLE WORLD AND IN THE AREA OF ARAB COUNTRIES. THE INTERESTS
OF THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLES. THEIR SECURITY AND RESPECT OF
SOVEREIGNTY :

BELIEVING THAT THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COHESION OF ALL
FORCES OF PEACE AND PROGRESS, INCLUDING THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE
UNITY OF ARAB STATES, ON AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST BASIS IS AN
IMPORTANT MEANS OF STRUGGLE FOR LASTING PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY :

INSPIRED BY IDEALS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM,
COLONIALISM, ZIONISM AND REACTION, FOR THE FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE
AND SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLES :

CONVINCED THAT IN THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD INTERNATIONAL
PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY WAY OF COOPERATION AND THE SEARCH
FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS:

CONFIRMING THEIR PEACE-LOVING FOREIGN POLICY AND LOYALTY
TO THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS
ORGANIZATION :

WISHING TO DEVELOP AND STRENGTHEN THE EXISTING RELATIONS
OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST, STRIVING TO RAISE

/THESE

100715Z
LOF LOF

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 35 10 APR 1972 NBR3/303/1

460 12/4

THESE RELATIONS TO A NEW, EVEN HIGHER LEVEL, HAVE DECIDED TO CONCLUDE THE PRESENT TREATY AND AGREED ON THE FOLLOWING :

ARTICLE 1. THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DECLARE THAT INVIOABLE FRIENDSHIP WILL EXIST BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THEIR PEOPLES AND ALL-ROUND COOPERATION WILL DEVELOP IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, TRADE, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL, CULTURAL AND OTHER FIELDS ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT FOR STATE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

ARTICLE 2. THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE IRAQI REPUBLIC DECLARE THAT THEY WILL CLOSELY AND COMPREHENSIVELY COOPERATE IN ENSURING CONDITIONS FOR PRESERVING AND FURTHER DEVELOPING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GAINS OF THEIR PEOPLES AND RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF EACH OF THEM OVER ALL THEIR NATURAL RESOURCES.

ARTICLE 3. THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, CONSISTENTLY PURSUING THE POLICY OF THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR PEACE-LOVING FOREIGN POLICY WILL FURTHER COME OUT FOR PEACE IN THE WHOLE WORLD, FOR AN EASING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, ENCOMPASSING BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS UNDER EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL.

ARTICLE 4. PROCEEDING FROM THE IDEALS OF FREEDOM AND THE EQUALITY OF ALL THE PEOPLES. THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES CONDEMN IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM IN ALL ITS FORMS AND MANIFESTATIONS, THEY WILL FURTHER CONDUCT AN UNDEVIATING STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM, FOR A FULL, FINAL AND UNCONDITIONAL LIQUIDATION OF COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM, RACISM AND APARTHEID, COME OUT FOR THE SPEEDIEST FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES. THE SIDES WILL COOPERATE WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH OTHER PEACE LOVING STATES IN SUPPORTING THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES FOR THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

ARTICLE 5. ATTACHING MUCH IMPORTANCE TO ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THEM, THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL FURTHER EXPAND AND DEEPEN THIS COOPERATION AND EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE IN INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION AND WATER CONSERVANCY, IN THE WORKING OF OIL AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES, IN THE FIELD OF COMMUNICATIONS AND IN OTHER BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY AS WELL AS IN THE TRAINING OF NATIONAL CADRES.

/THE SIDES

THE SIDES WILL EXPAND TRADE AND SHIPPING BETWEEN THE TWO STATES ON THE BASIS OF PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, MUTUAL ADVANTAGE AND MOST FAVOURED NATION TREATMENT.

ARTICLE 6. THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL FACILITATE A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TIES AND CONTACTS BETWEEN THEM IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE, ART, LITERATURE, EDUCATION, PUBLIC HEALTH, PRESS, RADIO, CINEMATOGRAPHY, TELEVISION, TOURISM, SPORT AND IN OTHER FIELDS. WITH THE AIM OF SECURING A FULLER MUTUAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE LIFE, LABOUR AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLES OF BOTH COUNTRIES IN VARIOUS FIELDS THE SIDES WILL FACILITATE AN EXPANSION OF COOPERATION AND DIRECT TIES BETWEEN STATE BODIES AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS, ENTERPRISES, CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS OF BOTH STATES.

ARTICLE 7. ATTACHING MUCH IMPORTANCE TO CONCERTED ACTIONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE IN THE INTERESTS OF ENSURING PEACE AND SECURITY AND ALSO TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND IRAQ, THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL REGULARLY CONSULT EACH OTHER AT VARIOUS LEVELS ON ALL IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE INTERESTS OF BOTH STATES, AS WELL AS ON QUESTIONS OF FURTHER DEVELOPING BILATERAL RELATIONS.

ARTICLE 8. IN THE EVENT OF SITUATIONS ARISING WHICH THREATEN THE PEACE OF EITHER OF THE SIDES OR CREATE A THREAT TO PEACE OR VIOLATE PEACE, THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL IMMEDIATELY CONTACT EACH OTHER WITH THE AIM OF COORDINATING THEIR POSITIONS IN THE INTERESTS OF REMOVING THE THREAT OR RESTORING PEACE.

ARTICLE 9. IN THE INTERESTS OF THE SECURITY OF BOTH COUNTRIES THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP COOPERATION IN THE STRENGTHENING OF THEIR DEFENCE CAPABILITIES.

ARTICLE 10. EACH OF THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DECLARES THAT IT WILL NOT ENTER ALLIANCES OR TAKE PART IN ~~JIPUTREGUD 95-53~~ ^{any international grouping}, AS WELL AS IN ACTIONS OR UNDERTAKINGS DIRECTED AGAINST THE OTHER HIGH CONTRACTING PARTY. EACH OF THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES UNDERTAKES NOT TO PERMIT THE USE OF ITS TERRITORY FOR ANY ACT CAPABLE OF INFLECTING MILITARY DAMAGE TO THE OTHER SIDE.

ARTICLE 11. THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DECLARE THAT THEIR COMMITMENTS UNDER EXISTING INTERNATIONAL TREATIES ARE NOT IN CONTRADICTION WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE PRESENT TREATY AND UNDERTAKE NOT TO CONCLUDE ANY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS INCOMPATIBLE WITH IT.

/ARTICLE 12.

ARTICLE 12. THE PRESENT TREATY IS CONCLUDED FOR A PERIOD OF 15 YEARS AND WILL BE AUTOMATICALLY PROLONGED FOR EACH SUBSEQUENT FIVE-YEAR PERIOD IF ANY OF THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DOES NOT RPT NOT EXPRESS ITS DESIRE TO TERMINATE ITS ACTION, INFORMING THE OTHER HIGH CONTRACTING PARTY TWELVE MONTHS BEFORE THE EXPIRATION OF THE TREATY.

ARTICLE 13. ANY DIFFERENCES THAT MAY ARISE BETWEEN THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES CONCERNING THE INTERPRETATION OF SOME PROVISION OF THE PRESENT TREATY WILL BE RESOLVED BILATERALLY IN A SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING.

ARTICLE 14. THE PRESENT TREATY IS SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION AND WILL ENTER INTO FORCE ON THE DAY OF THE EXCHANGE OF INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION, WHICH WILL BE EFFECTED IN MOSCOW IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE PERIOD OF TIME. THE PRESENT TREATY IS DONE IN TWO COPIES, EACH IN RUSSIAN AND ARABIC, BOTH TEXTS BEING OF EQUAL AUTHENTICITY. DONE IN BAGHDAD ON APRIL 9, 1972.. THIS ACCORDING WITH THE 25TH SAFAR, THE 1392 YEAR OF THE HIJRA.

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

FOR THE IRAQI REPUBLIC

A.KOSYGIN

A.H. AL-BAKR

ENDS.

KILLICK

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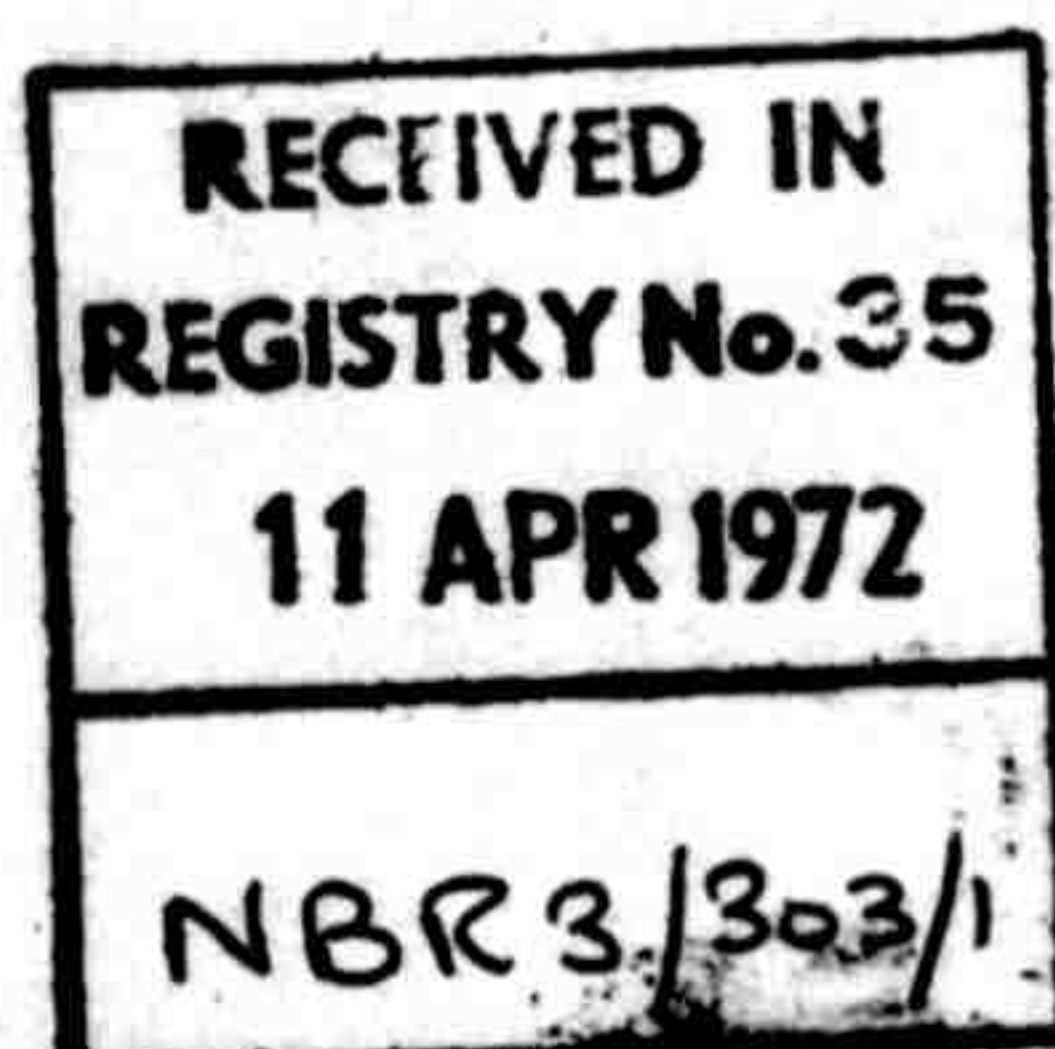


ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY
British Interests Section
BAGHDAD

B Smith Esq
Middle East Department
F C O

8 April 1972

Mr Smith has seen
14/4



Dear Sir

SOVIET UNION/IRAQ

1. Mr Kosygin duly arrived on 6 April together with a delegation consisting of Comrades V D Shashin, candidate to the membership of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, I V Arkhipov First Vice-Chairman of the Foreign Economic Relations State Committee of the Council of Ministers, R A Ulyanovsky Vice-Chairman of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, and M D Cytenko member of the Council of the Soviet Foreign Ministry and Head of the Ministry's Middle East Division.
2. The President held a dinner in Kosygin's honour on the evening of the 6th. The following day he flew down to Basra for the ceremonial opening of INOC's North Rumaila field by Saddam Hussein. In their speeches Saddam and the Chairman of INOC both paid tribute to the assistance from the Soviet Union in setting up their national oil industry. In his reply Kosygin spoke at length about the achievements of the Soviet people under the leadership of the CPSU since their revolution. He went on to speak of the "deep affection and friendship" of the Soviet people for the people of Iraq. He expressed the expectation that the common objective between the two countries in the "struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism" would help in the "development of Soviet/Iraqi relations". He also said that the Soviet Union stood "wholly on the side of the Arab countries which are struggling to ensure that their natural riches, especially oil, belonged to their rightful owners, namely the peoples of those countries. He also went on to attack the behaviour of the "capitalistic oil companies". He also paid tribute to the "social and economic reform" undertaken by the Iraqi Government mentioning agrarian reform and the implementation of the measures agreed in the 11 March Manifesto and the presentation of the National Action Charter providing for the creation of the National Progressive Front. Kosygin emphasised the Soviet commitment to the liquidation of Israeli aggression in the Middle East and went on to say, "We therefore warmly welcome the important political steps taken by a number of Arab governments, including the government of the Republic of Iraq, in the direction of consolidating solidarity between the Arab states in the struggle against colonialism and Israeli aggression".
3. We have also had other high level Soviet visitors during the last month as follows:

.../a.



- a. 11-22 March, Deputy Minister of Gas Production, Sorokin. During his visit he discussed oil questions and signed a protocol to the Joint Economic Agreement about the pumping of oil from North Rumaila on 7 April.
- b. 25 March to 5 April, Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Water Resources, Shupulasti. According to reports the principal topic discussed was Soviet participation in the proposed Tharthar canal which will enable the water in Wadi Tharthar to be transferred to the Euphrates, thus sweetening it, and enable the Wadi thus emptied to absorb flood waters from the Tigris. However there was no report of any agreement being signed.
- c. on 1 April the Deputy Ministers of Foreign Trade Osepov, and of Oil Takoief, arrived to hold a meeting of the Iraqi Soviet Mixed Committee, in which Shupulasti also joined.

While they were here the Soviet Embassy signed an agreement with the Oil Consultation Planning Establishment for Techno-Brum Export to draw up the plans for the ID 14m oil refinery to be built in Mosul.

4. There have also been two outward economic visits to the Soviet Union from here recently. From 11-21 March the Director General of the Bata Shoe Company visited Moscow to try and sell 500,000 pairs of shoes, and on 3 April the Chairman of the National Minerals Company left to discuss possible Soviet assistance in the development of phosphates which can be extracted commercially in Iraq.

5. On 2 April the Iraqi News Agency announced that a number of Soviet naval units were expected to visit Basra shortly and that preparations for this visit were now under way.

*Levy for
Lew*

D I Lewty

c.c. M J Robinson Esq
MOSCOW

Chanceries at:
BEIRUT, TEHRAN, KUWAIT, CAIRO, TRIPOLI

Mr. Smith

KOSYGIN'S VISIT TO BAGHDAD AND THE NEW
SOVIET/IRAQ TREATY.

I mentioned to you that Mr. Bonetti of the Italian Embassy is anxious to come and learn our thinking on this. I have put him off for a few days. Mr. Giesder of the West German Embassy has now been on to me and I have agreed to see him at ~~11.30~~ 3.15 a.m. on Friday, 14 April. In case Bonetti gets to hear of this I suppose I had better suggest that he also calls in on Friday - perhaps in the afternoon.

2. Unless EESD wish to take on this chore, perhaps you and I could see Giesder and Bonetti together to give them a brief run-down on the FCO view.

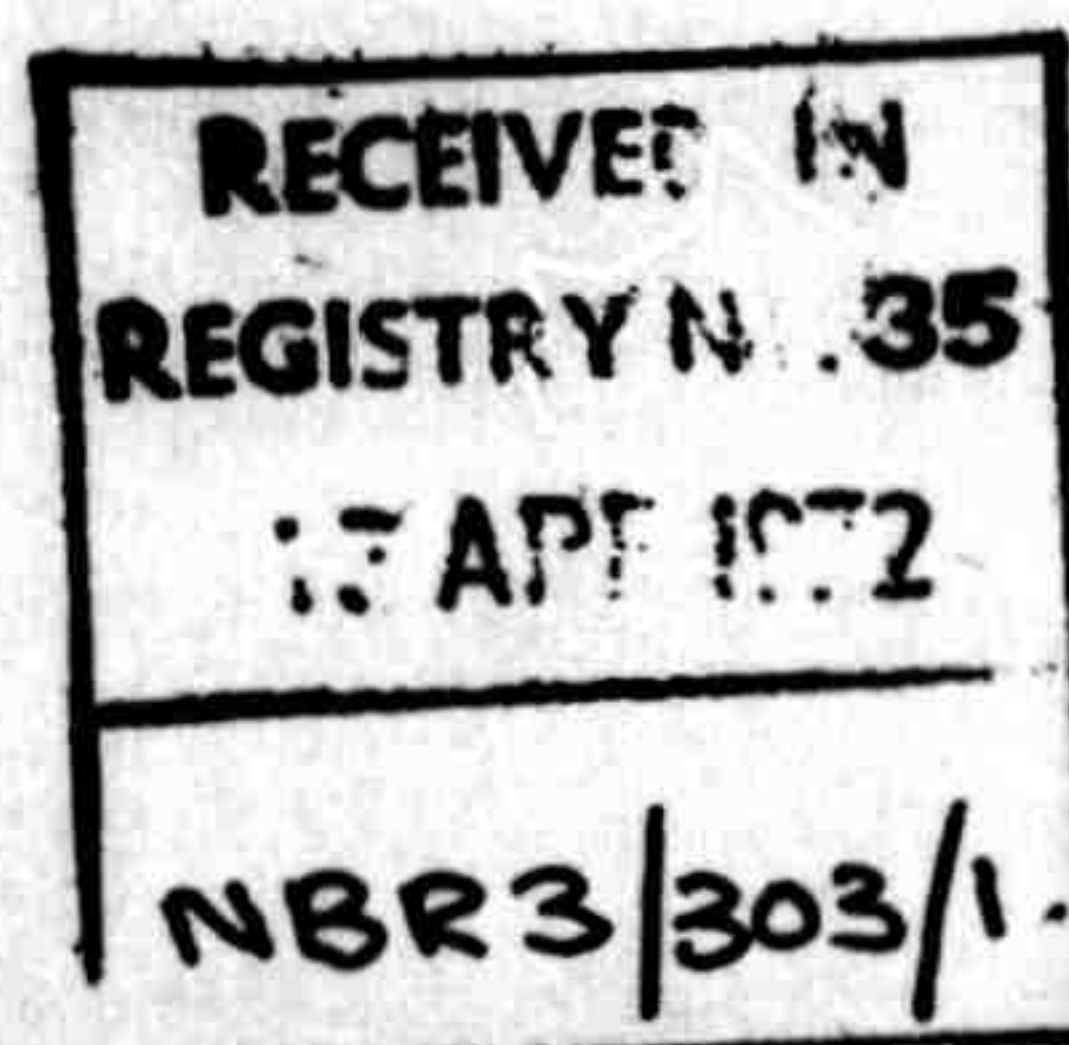
D G Allen

D G Allen

Middle East Department

11 April 1972

Copies to: Eastern European & Soviet Department
Western European Department



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TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 305 OF 11 APRIL INFO TO (PRIORITY)
MOSCOW, CAIRO, BEIRUT, KUWAIT, ABU DHABI, DUBAI,
TEL AVIV, AMMAN (ROUTINE) WASHINGTON, PARIS, UKMIS NEW YORK.

MOSCOW TEL NO 503:
IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY.

THE FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED ME TO CALL TODAY. HE WISHED TO DISCUSS, INTER ALIA, THE KOSYGIN VISIT TO IRAQ AND SIGNATURE OF THE IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY. THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT WHO HAD OF COURSE EXPECTED THE TREATY TO BE SIGNED IN APRIL DESPITE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THE RUSSIANS WERE BEING CAUTIOUS, WERE DELIBERATELY PLAYING THE MATTER DOWN. THERE HAD BEEN VIRTUALLY NO COMMENT IN THE PRESS. THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN REPEATING HIS ASSURANCES THAT THIS WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON THE SOVIET UNION'S RELATIONS WITH IRAN.

2. NEVERTHELESS IRAN WAS, MR KHALATBARI EXPLAINED, DEEPLY CONCERNED AT THESE DEVELOPMENTS. HE NOTED THAT THE BRITISH PRESS WAS NOW REALISING THAT THERE WAS A NEW SOVIET DRIVE TO EXTEND INFLUENCE INTO THE PERSIAN GULF AT THE EXPENSE OF WESTERN INTERESTS. WHAT CONCERNED HIM MOST WAS THE EFFECT THIS COULD HAVE ON THE WEAKER ARAB STATES IN THE PERSIAN GULF, ESPECIALLY ON SUCH UNSTABLE

/PERSONS AS

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PERSONS AS SHEIKH ZAID. THE CONJUNCTION OF KOSYGIN'S VISIT THE NEW TREATY AND THE MUCH PUBLICISED VISIT OF A SOVIET FLEET TO IRAQI PORTS MIGHT LEAVE AN UNFORTUNATE EFFECT BEHIND. MR KHALATBARI WISHED TO SHARE THESE DISQUIETING THOUGHTS WITH US AND TO ASK HOW WE NOW SAW THE SITUATION AND WHETHER THERE WERE ANY REMEDIAL STEPS THAT MIGHT BE TAKEN.

3. I SAID I HAD NOT YET SEEN AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEW TREATY THOUGH THERE WERE CLEARLY PARALLELS WITH THE SOVIET TREATY WITH EGYPT. WE WOULD CERTAINLY LET HIM HAVE OUR LATEST ASSESSMENT AND ANY THOUGHTS WE MIGHT HAVE ABOUT REPERCUSSIONS ELSEWHERE.

4. SEE MIPT.

RAMSBOTHAM

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TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 306 OF 11 APRIL INFO (ROUTINE)

MOSCOW, BIERUT, CAIRO, TEL AVIV, AMMAN, KUWAIT, DUBAI,
ABU DHABI, PARIS, WASHINGTON, UKMIS NEW YORK.

MIPT IRAQI/SOVIET TREATY.

1. KHALATBARI'S REMARKS SHOW THAT THE IRANIANS ARE FEELING WORRIED AND FRUSTRATED AND ARE HOPING FOR SOME PRACTICAL COLLABORATION WITH OURSELVES ESPECIALLY IN THE LIGHT OF YOUR TALK WITH THE SHAH AND YOUR STATEMENT ON DEPARTURE ABOUT WORKING TOGETHER WITH IRAN IN THIS AREA (MY TEL NO 252).

THEY ARE TURNING TO US FOR REASSURANCE AND HELP.

2. THE REASSSSURANCE MIGHT BE SUPPLIED BY REINFORCING THE VISIT OF HMS FALMOUTH TO BANDAR ABBAS NEXT MONTH FOR EXERCISE ARYA 5. IF WE COULD BRING MORE THAN ONE SHIP, I AM SURE THE IRANIANS WOULD BE GRATIFIED (AND WE WOULD NOT NEED TO TAKE ANY SPECIAL MEASURES TO INFER THAT THIS WAS TO COUNTER-BALANCE THE VISIT OF A SOVIET FLEET).

3. THE BEST HELP AND ADVICE WE COULD GIVE WOULD BE TO ENABLE THE IRANIANS TO APPOINT AN AMBASSADOR TO ABU DHABI. KHALATBARI CONFIRMED TO ME THAT

/IRAN

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IRAN FELT IT HAD A DISADVANTAGE NOT HAVING HER OWN MEANS OF REPORTING AND COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE FEDERATION, BUT, UNDERSTANDABLY IN THE

CIRCUMSTANCES THEY FEEL PRECLUDED BY ZAID' S BEHAVIOUR FROM MAKING THE FIRST MOVE. IF THIS WERE ACHIEVED AS A RESULT OF OUR PROMPTING SOME CONTACT WITH THE UAE, PERHAPS ON THE LINES OF MY TEL NQ 293, THE IRANIANS WOULD HAVE SOME RESPONSIBILITY FOR ASSESSING THE SITUATION FOR THEMSELVES, AND BE LESS READY TO HOLD US TO ACCOUNT FOR ZAID' S BEHAVIOUR. I HOPE THEREFORE, THAT MR TREADWELL WILL BE ABLE TO ENCOURAGE ZAID TO OFFER TO SEND ZAKI TO TEHRAN TO BREAK THE ICE. WE COULD CLAIM CREDIT FOR THIS IF HE SUCCEEDS.

4. MEANWHILE, IF JIC HAS MADE AN ASSESSMENT OF THE KOSYGIN VISIT AND THE NEW TREATY, I SHOULD LIKE TO PASS ON AN EDITED VERSION TO KHALATBARI TOGETHER WITH ANY OTHER COMMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE HELPFUL.

RAMSBOTHAM

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Assessment being
prepared
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TO PRIORITY F.C.O. TELNO....536 OF 12TH APRIL 1972.

INFO TO PRIORITY BAGHDAD, CAIRO, BEIRUT, TEL AVIV, TRIPOLI, AMMAN.
ROUTINE WASHINGTON, PARIS, UKMIS NEW YORK, TEHERAN.

MY TELEGRAM NO..509 : SOVIET/IRAQI FRIENDSHIP TREATY.
THE TEXT OF THE TREATY, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO
POLITICAL CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION IN THE POLITICAL,
ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL FIELDS, FOLLOWS CLOSELY THAT OF THE
SOVIET/EGYPTIAN TREATY OF MAY 1971. THE MAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
THE TWO TEXTS ARE :

- A. ARTICLE 2. IRAQ IS NOT DESCRIBED AS A COUNTRY AIMING AT SOCIALISM AND THERE IS CONSEQUENTLY NO PARALLEL TO THE IMPLICATION IN THE CORRESPONDING ARTICLE OF THE SOVIET/EGYPTIAN TREATY THAT THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT HAVE THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD THE "SOCIO-ECONOMIC GAINS" OF THE OTHER PARTY (INTERPRETED AT THE TIME OF THE SOVIET/EGYPTIAN TREATY AS A FORM OF "MODIFIED BREZHNEV DOCTRINE").
- B. THE ABSENCE OF ANY REFERENCE TO THE NEED FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AIMS OF THE UN CHARTER (ARTICLE 3 OF EGYPTIAN TREATY)
- C. THE AGREEMENT IN ARTICLE 4 TO "CONTINUE TO CONDUCT AN UNDEVIATING STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM FOR A FULL AND UNCONDITIONAL LIQUIDATION OF COLONIALISM AND NEOCOLONIALISM (THERE IS ALSO A REFERENCE TO THE "STRUGGLE AGAINST ZIONISM IN THE PREAMBLE) AND TO COOPERATE IN SUPPORTING "THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE'S FOR THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS".
- D. THE ABSENCE FROM ARTICLE 9 OF ANY DETAILS OF FORMS OF DEFENCE AND COOPERATION.
- E. THE UNDERTAKING IN ARTICLE 10 THAT NEITHER SIDE WILL PERMIT THE USE OF ITS TERRITORY FOR ANY ACT WHICH MIGHT INFLICT MILITARY DAMAGE TO THE OTHER PARTY.
- F. THE PROVISION IN ARTICLE 13 FOR RENEGOTIATION (AS IN INDIAN TREATY).

2. THE TREATY SCARCELY ADDS UP TO THE "CLOSE STRATEGIC UNION OF WHICH SADDAM HUSSEIN SPOKE DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW, AND THE PROVISION FOR CONSULTATION (BUT NOT ACTION) IN THE EVENT OF A THREAT TO PEACE PROBABLY GOES LESS FAR THAN THE IRAQIS WOULD HAVE LIKED (THOUGH UNLIKE THE EGYPTIAN TREATY THIS ONE DOES NOT LIMIT CONSULTATION TO CASES WHERE A THREAT TO PEACE EXISTS "IN THE VIEW OF BOTH PARTIES"). NONETHELESS THE TREATY REPRESENTS A SUBSTANTIAL STRENGTHENING OF THE BASIS FOR SOVIET INFLUENCE IN IRAQ AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST GENERALLY, ONE EFFECT OF WHICH (NOTWITHSTANDING THE HOSTILE REFERENCES TO ZIONISM) MAY BE TO ENABLE THE RUSSIANS TO CONTROL THE MORE MILITANT IRAQI APPROACH TO THE ARAB/ISRAEL PROBLEM. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET SIDE HAS FOUND IT POSSIBLE TO ACQUIESCE IN THE DIFFERING IRAQI VIEW ON THIS QUESTION IT IS WORTH NOTING THE STATEMENT IN THE PREAMBLE THAT "IN THE PRESENT DAY WORLD INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY WAY OF COOPERATION AND THE SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS".

3. THE UNDERTAKING (PRESENT IN THE INDIAN TREATY) NOT TO PERMIT THE USE OF THE TERRITORY OF EITHER PARTY FOR ACTS AGAINST THE OTHER PRESUMABLY REFLECTS THE FACT THAT A PRIMARY SOVIET OBJECTIVE IN M.E. POLICY IS TO BUILD A CORDON SANITAIRE OF FRIENDLY AND CLIENT STATES ON OR NEAR ITS SOUTHERN BORDERS (CF PODGORNYY'S VISIT TO TURKEY).

4. KOSYGIN WAS AT PAINS TO MAKE IT CLEAR IN HIS SPEECH ON SIGNATURE THAT THE TREATY IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY THIRD PARTY (A POINT WHICH IS NOT BROUGHT OUT IN THE TREATY ITSELF) BUT THE RUSSIANS WILL PRESUMABLY FIND IT NECESSARY TO MAKE SOME FURTHER GESTURE IN ORDER TO REASSURE THE SHAH.

5. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE VISIT WHICH APPEARED IN YESTERDAY'S PRAVDA (COPIES OF COMMUNIQUE BY BAG) ADDS LITTLE TO WHAT HAS APPEARED IN THE TREATY AND IN THE EARLIER COMMUNIQUE ON SADDAM HUSSEIN'S VISIT TO MOSCOW. THE STATEMENT OF THE VIEW OF THE TWO SIDES ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION IS IDENTICAL TO THAT IN SADDAM HUSSEIN'S COMMUNIQUE, NAMELY THAT A JUST AND STABLE PEACE CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED WITHOUT THE LIBERATION OF ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED AS A RESULT OF ISRAELI IMPERIALIST /AGGRESSION

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AGGRESSION AND WITHOUT ENSURING LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TREATY HOWEVER AS "A GREAT CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF THE JOINT STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM AND ZIONISM FOR PEACE, NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS" IS A GOOD DEAL Milder THAN THE CALL FOR THE FULL, FINAL AND UNCONDITIONAL LIQUIDATION OF THE COLONIALIST AGGRESSOR IN ARTICLE 4 OF THE TREATY (SEE PARAGRAPH 1C ABOVE).

6. ON OIL, THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO CONTAINS THE STATEMENT THAT THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE NORTH RUMAILA PROJECT MARKS THE BEGINNING OF AN IMPORTANT STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST OIL MONOPOLIES "FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE COMPLETE ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ".

7. AN INTERESTING PASSAGE IN THE COMMUNIQUE IS THAT IN WHICH THE IRAQI SIDE INFORMS THE SOVIET SIDE OF SADDAM HUSSEIN'S RECENT VISITS TO EGYPT AND SYRIA " IN THE INTERESTS OF COUNTERING THE INTRIGUES OF IMPERIALISM AND ITS AGENTS IN THE AREA ". THE SOVIET RESPONSE TO THIS IS LIMITED TO AN EXPRESSION OF APPROVAL FOR THE EFFORTS OF IRAQI AND OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES " TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES ON A PROGRESSIVE, ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-ZIONIST BASIS ". THIS RATHER REINFORCES THE VIEW IN MY TELEGRAM 474 OF 31 MARCH (NOT TO ALL) THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL HEDGING ITS BETS ON HUSSEIN'S PROPOSAL FOR A UNITED ARAB KINGDOM .

8. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO CONTAINS AN INVITATION TO THE IRAQI PRESIDENT , AL BAKR TO PAY AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1972.

9. FCO PLEASE PASS COPY OF MY TELNO 509 TO TEHERAN .

KILLICK

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/ACTION ON PARA 9 TAKEN BY COMMS DEPT./

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BRITISH EMBASSY

MOSCOW

7 April 1972

Miss V Beckett
Near Eastern Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Dear Miss Beckett

SOVIET UNION/IRAQ

I enclose copies of translations of two articles which have appeared in the Soviet press this week. The first, "Fruitful Cooperation" by R Petrov from Pravda of 5 April, is a review of the successes of Soviet and socialist economic cooperation with the Arab world in the light of Brezhnev's statement to the Trade Union Congress that "relations with our Arab friends have never been as firmly based and many sided as now." Two points about the article strike me as being particularly worth noting. In the first place the writer seems anxious, especially in the case of Egypt, to explain that Soviet economic assistance does not have the effect of burdening the beneficiary's economy with debt obligations but is designed to create the capacity for producing goods which can then be exported to the Soviet Union in repayment of credits. The point is a defensive one and the writer produces comparatively little evidence in support of his case. He does however come up with the fact, which I cannot recall having seen previously in the Soviet press, that Iraq and Syria are beginning for the first time in 1972 to supply oil to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. At the same time the article bears out the analysis of Soviet attitudes towards the internal political situations in Egypt, Syria and Iraq reported in my letter of 16 March to Kay. It is again noticeable that the writer avoids comment on the internal policies of Egypt and Iraq and yet hands out glowing compliments to the Syrian Ba'athists for their success in establishing a progressive national front.

2. The second article "Iraq, Outline of Change" from Izvestia of the same date deals almost exclusively with the Iraqi struggle against the Western oil companies both within OPEC and through the establishment of an independent oil industry based on the Soviet-equipped North Rumaila oilfield. The writer displays a fairly detailed knowledge of present and future oil production in Iraq which may be of some interest to Oil Department. On the internal front it is noticeable that the writer reproduces in almost identical terms the point about the continuing danger from internal reaction made in the Izvestia article of 11 March on the Kurdish anniversary (my letter to Kay under reference). This is I think a further indication of Soviet uneasiness about the stability of the Iraqi regime

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But they have
now signed a
treaty

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and its ability to carry through the programme of the national charter.

They have not done so

3. Although both articles refer to the 7 April opening of the North Rumailia oilfield it is strange that neither of them refers to the possibility of Soviet attendance. As we now know Kosygin left for Baghdad on 6 March, according to the official announcement, to take part in the opening ceremony. It is equally interesting that neither article refers to the intention of the Soviet Union and Iraq to heighten their relations to a treaty level as agreed in the joint communiqué on Saddam Hussein's visit. (I reported in my letter 7/3 of 25 February that the Soviet press dropped this point almost immediately after the visit). Nonetheless the German chargé was told by Gvishiani in the conversation reported in our tel no. 489 of 6 April that Kosygin would be signing a treaty in the course of his visit and this has since been confirmed to me by Indian and Romanian diplomats here. The Romanian also made the point that the lack of advance notice of Kosygin's departure was due to doubt about whether the delegation which has been working on the treaty in Baghdad would be able to have the document ready in time. The Egyptians here (who clearly have an axe to grind against the Iraqis) have maintained ever since the Saddam Hussein visit that the Russians were unhappy about the treaty commitment which the Iraqis had pressed on them and that there would certainly not be a treaty in time for the North Rumailia opening. The situation is obviously a complex one and it will be very interesting to see what emerges from the events of this weekend.

*Yours sincerely,
Michael Robinson*

M J Robinson

Copied to: Chanceries - Beirut
Baghdad
Tripoli
Cairo
Tehran

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Oil Department

CONFIDENTIAL

Wednesday, April 5, 1972

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FRUITFUL COOPERATION

R. Petrov

Soviet-Arab friendship has in recent years become a vital factor of international relations. As I.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, declared in his speech at the 15th USSR Trade Union Congress, "our relations with our Arab friends have never been as firmly based and all-pervading as now."

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Soviet-Arab friendship and cooperation is one of the striking manifestations of the growing unity of the forces of world socialism and the national-liberation movement. The Arab peoples have found in the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community reliable support for their liberation struggle against imperialism and aggression unleashed by the Zionist rulers of Israel.

The Arab world today consists of a population of more than 100 million people, and of 18 independent states. Though these countries differ from one another in their state system and level of social and economic development, they all have to wage a struggle to overcome the grave colonial legacy, to achieve progress. Life shows that tasks of socio-economic advancement are most successfully carried out in those countries which firmly oppose the intrigues of imperialism and reaction, and choose a progressive way of development.

For instance, according to statistics published by the progressive Cairo magazine, Al-Talia, the average yearly increase of Egypt's national income in the period of 1913-1950, i.e., when capitalism was developing in the country, amounted to only 1.5-2 per cent. Starting from the sixties, after Egypt embarked on the road of non-capitalist development, the average annual increment of the national income topped 6 per cent.

The positions of the state sector in the economy of the advanced Arab states are growing stronger from year to year. It embraces 85 per cent of industrial production in Egypt, 80 per cent in Syria, and more than 70 per cent in Iraq and Algeria. After the revolution of 1969, Libya succeeded in liquidating the British and American military bases on its territory, and in boosting its dividends from oil.

The economic development plans of the front-rank Arab states embrace all aspects of economic and social life,

ranging from industry, agriculture, and transport to housing construction, education and public health, but great attention is particularly paid to industrialisation. In Egypt, for example, the national action programme for the period, 1972-1982, envisages the growth of industrial production by 120 per cent, and agricultural, by 50 per cent. Of the total amount of money allocated for the four-year economic development plan presently being carried out in Algeria, 45 per cent is earmarked for aims of industrialisation.

The leading Arab countries lean in their policies on support of the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Soviet aid is rendered, above all, for the development of the basic sectors of the economy and the training of national personnel. For instance, the Soviet Union is lending assistance in the construction of 106 industrial enterprises and other projects in Egypt, about 50 in Syria, 72 in Iraq, and more than 80 in Algeria. An agreement was recently signed on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and Libya. Many projects, including the well-known Aswan High Dam and power station on the Nile and the shipyard in Alexandria, have already been put into operation.

In helping to develop the national industry of the Arab countries the Soviet Union expands their export possibilities by increasing production of manufactured goods. For instance, Egypt was enabled to export to the Soviet Union, in repayment of previous credits, besides traditional commodities also such heavy industry products as sea-going vessels, rolled ferrous metals, automobile and tractor components and electrical equipment. Iraq and Syria are beginning for the first time in 1972 to supply oil to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Thanks to the supplies of Soviet arms and the work of Soviet military specialists many Arab countries have been enabled to build up their national armed forces in accordance with modern demands of military science and technique. This has tremendous political significance and plays an important role in the struggle of the Arab states against Israeli aggression and imperialist intrigues, and for consolidating the sovereignty and national independence.

The progressive socio-economic policy of the advanced Arab states has in recent years been receiving ever greater support among the working masses who are becoming convinced that despite the difficulties connected chiefly with the process of growth the national-democratic power concerns itself primarily with their vital needs. The forces and influence of the exploiter elements are steadily decreasing. The leaders of the advanced Arab states are taking measures to unite all the anti-imperialist forces on a democratic basis in order to counterpose the unceasing conspiracies of imperialism and to carry out the economic and social development plans.

A Progressive National Front was set up in Syria in March this year with the participation of the Arab Socialist Awakening Party, the Communist Party and other progressive organisations of the Syrian Arab Republic.

The purpose of the Front is to organise the masses for the struggle against Israeli aggression, and for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories, as well as to achieve Arab unity on an anti-imperialist basis and to create the necessary pre-requisites in Syria for the socialist transformation of society in close cooperation with the socialist countries. In the messages of greetings to the President of the Syrian Arab Republic and the General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Awakening Party H. Assad and to the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party Leonid Brezhnev called the establishment of the Front a historic victory of the anti-imperialist forces of the Syrian people.

The Iraqi people are observing an important event on April 7, this year: the putting into commission of the big oilfields in the area of North Roumelah and the oil pipeline up to the Fao port. These projects were built with the participation of the Soviet Union. Production of oil will be brought up to 18 million tons within the next few years.

This event has truly historic significance for Iraq. The fact is that the country possesses vast deposits of oil which has been extracted there for nearly 40 years (75 million tons were extracted in 1971), but hitherto it was done by foreign monopolies.

Only in recent times, particularly after the Baath Party came to power, the Iraqi Government was able to take effective measures to establish control over the country's natural wealth. The privileges were considerably restricted of the foreign oil companies which agreed to increase payments to the Iraqi treasury. An agreement was also reached on Iraq's participation in these companies on the basis of paying out 20 per cent of the companies' capital.

At the same time the government allocated sufficient means for preparations for large-scale oil extraction by its own efforts. And now the national oilfields are officially opening. This success was achieved thanks to cooperation with the Soviet Union which provided Iraq with necessary equipment and sent specialists.

The Arab liberation movement is now going through the stage of mobilising the masses for eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression and ensuring the further economic and social progress. An earnest of the successful solution of the national and social tasks facing the Arabs is the unity of the progressive forces in each country and within the framework of the entire Arab world, their solidarity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

(Pravda, April 5. In full.)

Thursday, April 6, 1972

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IRAQ: OUTLINE OF CHANGE

L.Koryavin

The foreign oil companies are ever more obviously feeling the effects of the vigorous resistance put up against them by the oil-producing states.

A drastic polarisation of forces has long been evident on the oil front: on the one hand, the foreign monopolies have formed an international oil cartel, and, on the other, the countries where the West continues to exploit their natural wealth, have also set up their own association called the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

Iraq is most active in OPEC; it is making a sizable contribution to the struggle of the developing countries against the imperialist oil monopolies.

This has been facilitated by a whole series of major developments in Iraq in recent times, developments aimed at consolidating the nation's independent line of progress.

The draft Charter of National Action, recently made public by the ruling Arab Socialist Renaissance (Baath) Party, has defined its policy of rallying together the progressive forces of Iraq and setting up a united front. The attainment of this goal will open broad prospects for the advance and consolidation of the national economy and its further emancipation from foreign dependence, and the use of "black gold" in the interests of the Iraqi people.

The old oil world with its diktat and arbitrariness of the monopolies is forced to retreat under pressure of the developing countries. Iraq has scored a number of successes within the framework of OPEC operations, which have not only forced the monopolies to extend to the exporting countries the "fifty-fifty" principle ensuring them half of the dividends obtained from extraction of oil in their territories, but also to consequently increase the percentage to 55 in their favour and to raise what are known as "list prices" on oil used as a basis for profit calculation.

Thus, Iraq and other OPEC members have come out winners in the field of extraction of crude oil. For instance, the income of the country on the Tigris River from "black gold" has recently gone up from 181 million Iraqi dinars to 330 million.

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7 However, subsequent Arab oil operations, including refining, transportation, and sales in the form of oil products, are still in the hands of the monopolies. Incidentally, only recently, a number of OPEC countries chalked up another victory, which, in the opinion of the experts, ushers in a new stage in the relations between the oil countries and the international cartel. Under pressure of the owners of "black gold," the monopolies have been forced to give Iraq and several Persian Gulf countries a 20 per cent share in their concessions, i.e., give them the chance to--let it, meanwhile, be partly--take part themselves in developing their oil resources. Nevertheless, despite these achievements, a long and tense struggle still lies ahead, because imperialism has no intentions of relinquishing its positions.

Rejecting the capitalist way of development as incompatible with the tasks of emancipation from foreign dependence, the draft Charter, announced in Iraq, points to the need of building up an economy of a many-sided nature as distinct from the abnormal one-sided specialization which the foreign monopolies tried to impose on the country in an effort to keep it exclusively as their raw-stock appendage. In this connection Baghdad now sets itself the task of all-round development of the state sector, which has been defined as the "cornerstone of the national economy."

Since oil, in the present stage, is the main source of Iraq's wealth and plays a decisive role in its economic advance, the need arises of setting up and strengthening a national oil-extracting industry, which would allow the country not only to develop its "black gold" deposits with its own forces, but also to play the part of an exporter on the world market. The Iraq National Petroleum Company (INPC), founded in 1962, has precisely become that foundation on which the new edifice of Iraqi economy is now being erected.

A new city has appeared on the economic map of Iraq which is not indicated in any colonial reference book. This is Roumelah with whose name is invariably associated the socio-economic transformations of Iraqi society. But quite recently only hot winds blew over the scorched deserts and a lonely bedouin raised dust with the hoofs of his camel along the paths known to him alone. Now oil derricks have risen over the sands. The figure of oil extraction in the area of Roumelah may not be high, but five million tons a year and by the end of the seventies it will rise to forty. But this is a truly revolutionary event in the development of the Iraqi economy which became possible thanks to the Soviet Union's technical assistance. The significance of this factor is particularly great today when the forces of imperialism and the Israeli extremists obedient to its will are conducting overt and covert subversive activities against

rendering Iraq and the fully equitable cooperation concluded between the two countries.

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the progressive tendencies in the Arab world and trying in every way to retard the national-liberation processes that are developing there.

However, the Iraqi people are fully determined to follow the chosen road. They already have to their credit such an important victory as the termination in the country of the fratricidal war between the Arabs and the Kurds. The peaceful solution of the Kurd problem opens up broad prospects before Iraq: it increases its potential possibilities to withstand the onslaught of imperialism and reaction, stabilises the internal political situation which enables the country to concentrate fully on solving the vital economic and social tasks.

Oil is not the only field in which Iraq is now making important headway. The country's five-year development plan for 1970-1974 envisages an increase in the rates of industrialisation and creation of such modern branches as petrochemical, shipbuilding, and electrical engineering industries in connection with which the question sharply arises of training its own national specialists. Plans are mapped out also for the transformation of agriculture where the task is set of overcoming backwardness and eliminating feudalism.

Naturally, the process of socio-political transformations is a complex and long one in Iraq. It should be borne in mind that the Middle East is still in a crisis situation because of the unceasing Israeli provocations encouraged by the United States imperialist circles. Neither should the fact be discarded that Iraqi society, as pointed out by the local press, comes up against elements of backwardness left as a heritage by imperialism and feudalism.

Relying upon internal reaction, international imperialism fans in every way the age-old contradictions and retards the implementation of the planned transformations.

The country has all the possibilities for introducing profound socio-economic changes. A major factor in this respect, it is regarded here, is the developing cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The President of the Iraqi Republic, Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, declared: "Cooperation with socialist countries is a necessity dictated by conditions of the present stage for the purpose of strengthening the positions of the Iraqi revolution and increasing its opposition to the imperialist plans." The broad public circles highly assess the technical and other assistance that the Soviet Union is rendering Iraq and the fully equitable agreements on cooperation concluded between the two countries.

(Izvestia, April 5. Abridged.)

(d/1972)

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X DU CAIRE A BAGDAD

La visite que vient de faire M. Kossyguine à Bagdad, la première qu'un chef de gouvernement soviétique ait jamais rendue à l'Irak — illustre, après une longue période de froid, l'amélioration spectaculaire des relations entre les deux pays.

Amorçé lors du voyage à Moscou, du 10 au 17 février dernier, de M. Saddam Hussein, vice-président du Conseil de la révolution et « homme fort » du régime irakien, le renforcement de la collaboration des deux pays, dans tous les domaines, a été consacré par la signature, dimanche 9 avril, d'un traité d'amitié, de coopération. Il s'agit là, à n'en pas douter, d'un nouveau pas du Kremlin vers son objectif pour affermir ses relations méditerranéennes et golfo-persiques.

Le traité soviéto-irakien marque une véritable percée. Il renforce la coopération entre les deux pays, et par Le Caire, Bagdad et Washington, il contribue à multiplier les contacts avec les différents pays arabes.

En effet, la signature de ce traité renforce la coopération entre les deux pays, et par Le Caire, Bagdad et Washington, il contribue à multiplier les contacts avec les différents pays arabes.

Mais, si l'accord avec Le Caire s'inscrivait clairement dans le contexte du conflit arabo-israélien, le traité avec Bagdad, signé du chef du Kremlin, est en présence dans le monde arabe, où se trouvent les plus grandes réserves mondiales de pétrole. L'U.R.S.S., qui cherche manifestement à prendre de vitesse la Chine dans la région et à faire pièce aux Etats-Unis, bien implantés en particulier en Turquie et en Arabie Saoudite, a déjà noué des relations diplomatiques avec l'Etat des Emirats arabes unis. Sans doute, le Kremlin n'a-t-il pu établir des relations analogues avec l'Arabie Saoudite, mais il dispose d'un port d'attache à Aden pour ses navires de guerre venant de l'océan Indien, tandis que ses bateaux de pêche sillonnent depuis quelque temps le golfe, grâce à des accords conclus avec l'Irak et la République populaire démocratique du Yémen du sud. Certains chalutiers chargés de « missions particulières » sont même régulièrement signalés tout à l'entrée du golfe Persique et au large de la mer Rouge.

Dans cette grande partie destinée à consolider ses positions dans la région, l'U.R.S.S., tout en préservant ses bonnes relations avec Téhéran, entend assurer une triple médiation entre Bagdad et Téhéran, dont les relations se sont améliorées : au niveau des Kurdes, entre Kurdes et Arabes, pour maintenir la paix au Kurdistan ; enfin, entre le Baas et le P.C. irakien en vue de favoriser un « front national » en Irak.

La réussite d'une telle politique ne manquerait pas de renforcer la position des pays arabes « progressistes » producteurs de pétrole à l'égard des intérêts pétroliers occidentaux et surtout américains. Aussi le traité que M. Kossyguine vient de signer à Bagdad représente-t-il un atout important pour les dirigeants soviétiques à quelques semaines des entretiens Nixon-Brejnev à Moscou.

Admettons, et bien que M. Saddam Hussein soit attendu prochainement à Paris, l'Europe qui est pourtant le principal client du pétrole irakien, et surtout du pétrole saoudien, demeure encore largement absente de cette région du monde vitale qu'elle.

MSR 14/7
JR

EN SIGNANT UN TRAITE AVEC L'IRAK

**L'U.R.S.S. marque un nouveau point
au Proche-Orient**

Le président du conseil soviétique, M. Kossyguine, a quitté, lundi 10 avril, Bagdad pour Moscou, après avoir signé, dimanche, un traité d'amitié et de coopération avec l'Irak. Ce traité, qui ressemble à celui conclu en mai dernier entre l'U.R.S.S. et l'Égypte, renforce sensiblement le rôle de l'Union soviétique au Proche-Orient, à environ un mois du voyage que le président Nixson doit faire à Moscou.

De notre envoyé spécial
ÉRIC ROULEAU

Bagdad. — Tant par l'ampleur de la coopération prévue que par l'aisance avec laquelle il a été conclu, le traité irako-soviétique a surpris voire impressionné nombre de diplomates étrangers en poste à Bagdad. Certes, tout paraissait indiquer que les deux pays finiraient pas signer un document réglementant leurs relations. L'arrivée, vendredi, d'une importante délégation dirigée par M. Alexis Kossyguine, l'inauguration par le chef du gouvernement soviétique des riches gisements pétroliers de Roumalah Nord (exploités avec l'assistance russe), la présence de nombreux représentants du parti communiste étrangers aux cérémonies du vingt-cinquième anniversaire du parti Baas au pouvoir, l'abondance de banderoles, d'articles, d'émissions radio-télévisées célébrant l'amitié soviéto-irakienne, laissaient croire, en effet, que le voie était libre pour l'établissement de relations contractuelles.

Cependant, nombre d'ingénieurs — notamment des disjoncteurs dans les districts respectifs des représentants des deux pays — soulignent que tous les obstacles n'avaient pas été levés.

(Lire la suite page 3, 3^e col.)

PROCHE-ORIENT

L'U.R.S.S. marque un nouveau point

(Suite de la première page.)

Certains soutenaient que la signature du traité serait reportée à une date ultérieure. M. Kossyguine, disait-on, voulait obtenir au préalable l'assurance que la politique intérieure et surtout extérieure du futur allié ne mettrait pas l'U.R.S.S. en position embarrassante. Le leader soviétique, ajoutait-on, voulait savoir en particulier si le Front national progressiste — qui regroupait le Baas, le parti communiste et le parti démocratique kurde — avait des chances réelles de se concrétiser ; si le gouvernement de Bagdad avait l'intention de suivre une politique « soviétique » à l'égard de l'Iran et des pays arabes progressistes avec lesquels Moscou entretenait de très bons rapports. Il faut croire que les conversations engagées par le chef du gouvernement soviétique, séparément avec les représentants du parti communiste, des nationalistes kurdes, ainsi qu'avec ceux du Baas et du gouvernement, ont été concluantes.

Un « événement historique »

Dès samedi soir, l'ambassadeur russe confiait à une délégation étrangère qu'un « événement historique de portée internationale » ne tarderait pas à se produire. Dimanche matin, les négociations prenant fin suffisamment tôt pour permettre à M. Kossyguine de rendre visite au musée de Bagdad. La conclusion du traité, l'après-midi, s'est déroulée au palais présidentiel, dans un climat solennel, presque cérémoniel. Autour d'une table en forme de fer à cheval, les membres des deux délégations regardaient, silencieusement, le président de la République, le président du conseil, et M. Kossyguine, les uns après les autres, apposer leurs signatures. Seul M. Saddam Hussein, président du conseil de la révolution et « homme fort » du régime, ne démultiplait pas sa joie. Jubilant, échangeant de temps à autre des clin d'œil amicaux avec le chef du gouvernement soviétique, il se félicitait d'une alliance dont il a été le principal artisan du côté irakien.

Le traité ressemble fort à celui

qui a été conclu en mai dernier entre l'Egypte et l'U.R.S.S. Cependant, il est relativement plus important que celui du Caire, dans la mesure où il légalise et consolide la présence soviétique dans un pays riche en hydrocarbures, dans une région stratégique donnant accès aux fabuleux champs pétrolifères du golfe Persique, considérés par les Anglo-Américains comme leur chasse gardée. L'article 2 du traité, en particulier, vise à inquiéter les sociétés occidentales. Il paraît être dirigé contre le puissant consortium de l'I.P.C., dépeint de 98 % de ses concessions par la fameuse loi 80 de 1961, dont il ne reconnaît toujours pas la validité. En s'engageant à défendre les « conquêtes économiques et sociales » de l'Irak, notamment dans le domaine des ressources naturelles, l'U.R.S.S. donne ainsi sa caution formelle à une mesure de spoliation dont elle garantirait en outre le caractère irrévocable. L'article 3, en revanche, paraît destiné à avoir un effet apaisant dans la région. En souscrivant au principe de la coexistence pacifique entre pays dotés de régimes sociaux différents, l'Irak aurait accepté de se prêter à une détente avec ses voisins, en particulier avec l'Iran.

Des compromis

Le traité comporte des compromis entre les thèses soviétiques et irakiennes sur divers sujets. M. Kossyguine, par exemple, a accepté d'adopter le principe de l'unité arabe — cher au parti baas — non pas fondée sur des critères ethniques, religieux, linguistiques et nationaux,

mais en tant qu'instrument de « lutte anti-impérialiste » (et accessoirement antisioniste), en vue de favoriser l'indépendance nationale, le progrès social et la sécurité des pays concernés. Les deux parties sont parvenues, de même, à concilier leurs vues sur le problème palestinien. Elles condamnent bien le sionisme, mais elles sont convenues qu'à l'« époque contemporaine » les conflits internationaux doivent être réglés dans un esprit de conciliation. Elles déclarent œuvrer, en outre, en faveur de la réduction des tensions internationales et de la consolidation de la paix mondiale.

Une nouvelle stratégie soviétique

M. Kossyguine, il est vrai, a eu recours à des termes plus vigoureux que ceux utilisés dans le traité en parlant, dimanche après-midi, de la « liquidation de l'agression sioniste ». A aucun moment, d'autre part, les représentants des deux pays ne se sont référés explicitement à la résolution du Conseil de sécurité prévoyant les modalités d'un règlement israélo-arabe, considérées comme inacceptables par le gouvernement de Bagdad. De toute évidence, les rédacteurs du traité se sont sentis plus à l'aise dans la formulation des articles ayant trait à la coopération bilatérale. Celle-ci s'étend absolument à tous les domaines, systématiquement et énumérativement. En matière de commerce et de transport maritime, les deux pays bénéficieront de la clause de la nation la plus favorisée. Les nouveaux

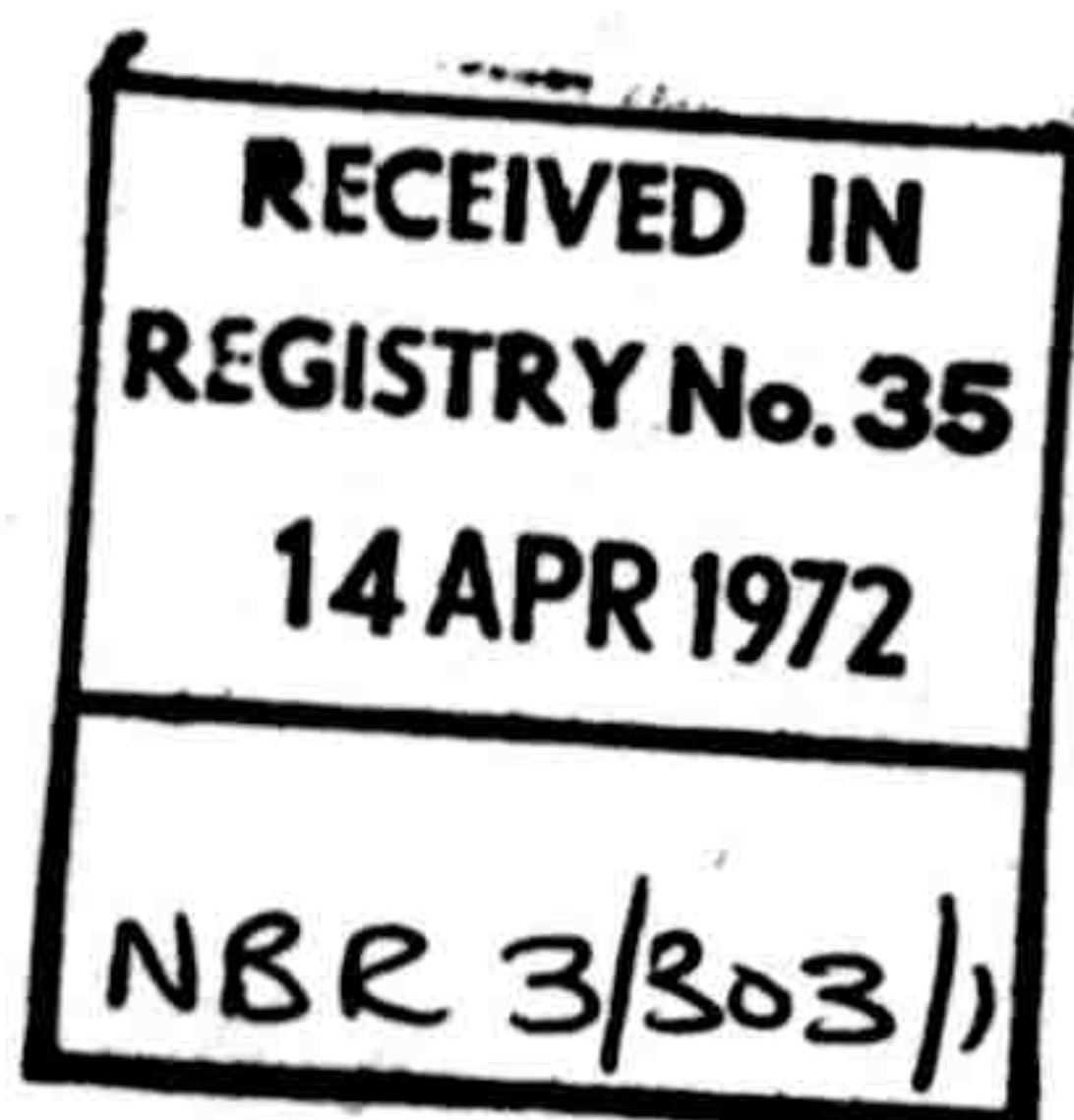
alliés se consulteront régulièrement sur toutes les questions d'intérêt national et international d'intérêt commun.

Le chapitre militaire retient particulièrement l'attention. Les parties contractantes se sont engagées à « coordonner » leur action pour éliminer le péril de la guerre et pour rétablir la paix le cas échéant. L'U.R.S.S. continuera à équiper et à entraîner l'armée irakienne. Toutefois, en clair, les articles 10 et 11 signifient que Bagdad s'abstient de s'engager dans une quelconque action d'ordre militaire, politique, économique ou commerciale qui porterait préjudice à la sécurité ou aux intérêts de l'U.R.S.S. Il va de soi que la réciprocité est assurée en la matière.

L'accord signé dimanche, le premier que Bagdad conclut avec une puissance étrangère depuis la démission, en 1958, du traité qui le pendant un quart de siècle l'attachait à la monarchie hachémite à l'empire britannique, confère à l'Irak une position de choix au Proche-Orient. L'Egypte n'est plus, en effet, l'unique pays arabe à entretenir des relations privilégiées avec Moscou. La Syrie baasiste, qui avait refusé de modifier ses rapports avec l'U.R.S.S., passe au troisième rang dans la hiérarchie des amitiés entretenues par le Kremlin dans la région.

Une nouvelle stratégie soviétique se dessine au Proche-Orient. M. Kossyguine en tient compte lors des pourparlers qu'il engagea le mois prochain à Moscou.

ERIC ROULEAU.



Mr. Allen

[Copy to: Mr. ~~Graig~~ ^{McGraig}
Mr. Bullard]

Mr. Smith
AD 144
A JIC Assessment will
issue later this week. 95
main points are included
in the brief for S.O.S. at
London's Cabinet which I
am submitting separately.
OK all
14/4

IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY

I take it that someone will be doing an assessment of the significance of the Treaty. Obviously it would be interesting to compare the text with that of the Soviet/Egyptian Treaty and the Soviet/Indian Treaty. At first sight I get the impression that the Brezhnev doctrine is less apparent in the Soviet/Iraqi Treaty (Article 2) than it was in the Soviet/Egyptian Treaty (? Article 2 or 3).

AD
A D Parsons

11 April 1972

Mr. Smith

*(perhaps one tel. to Tehran
can mention X?)*

Mr Parsons

cc: Mr Allen
Mr Craig
Mr Fall
Mr Murrell

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 35
14 APR 1972
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IRAQI-SOVIET TREATY

1. You sent me a copy of your minute to Mr Allen of 11 April.
2. You will now have seen the JIC Assessment. This does not go into all the finer points of difference, of which there are many, between the Iraqi treaty and those with Egypt and India. I think you are right in what you say about the Brezhnev doctrine: the Iraqis have not said, as the Egyptians did, that they have adopted a socialist society as their aim, but both treaties contain a reference to preserving the social and economic gains of the two peoples. Another potentially important point of difference is in Article 6 of the Iraqi treaty, which speaks about cooperation between "state bodies and public organisations". The parallel passage in the Egyptian treaty spoke of cooperation between political and social organisations. On the face of it this means that the treaties provide for Soviet party cooperation with Egypt, but not with Iraq. In view of Saddam Hussein's remarks some weeks ago I cannot believe that this is necessarily how things will work out. Finally there are some more easily explained differences, such as the very tough references to Zionism and the prominent mention of Iraqi oil and natural resources.
3. We shall be discussing the treaty in some detail in this month's edition of Communist Policy and Tactics.

X ||

J L Bullard
E European & Soviet Dept

12 April 1972

Mr Allen

Mr Parsons

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 35
14 APR 1972

NBC 8/303/1

IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY

Flag A

1. Mr Graham has minuted on the attached copy of Moscow telegram number 509 "I hope we can brand this as the Second Baghdad Pact.

Flag B

Could IRD not do something by way of comparing the relevant clauses with the Baghdad Pact Treaty which the Iraqis rejected - or the BBC?"

2. There is not sufficient similarity between the clauses of two Treaties for a public comparison to be worthwhile. Further, the Baghdad Pact remains the predecessor of CENTO in many people's minds; the danger, therefore, is that instead of harming the image of the Iraq/Soviet treaty we should harm the image of CENTO itself. Our Regional partners would, in any case, hardly thank us for linking CENTO, even at one remove, with a Soviet treaty.

3. In these circumstances I do not consider that we should pursue this particular suggestion. I have asked IRD to look into the possibility of producing a generally critical article on the Treaty.

B Smith
Middle East Department

13 April 1972

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TO PRIORITY TEHRAN TELNO 218 OF 13 APRIL, INFO PRIORITY MOSCOW, CAIRO, BEIRUT, KUWAIT, ABU DHABI, TEL AVIV, AMMAN AND ROUTINE TO WASHINGTON AND PARIS.

YOUR TELS NOS 305 AND 306 AND MOSCOW TELNO 536: IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY.

1. A J.I.C. ASSESSMENT, TOGETHER WITH DRAFT OF A DETAILED ITEM FOR QUOTE COMMUNIST POLICY AND TACTICS UNQUOTE WILL BE SENT TO YOU IN SUNDAY'S BAG. YOU MAY DRAW FREELY ON BOTH IN DISCUSSIONS WITH KHALATBARY AND THE SHAH.
2. THE RUSSIANS WILL NO DOUBT DO THEIR BEST TO MINIMISE THE EFFECT OF THE TREATY ON THEIR IMPORTANT RELATIONS WITH IRAN AND THEIR BUDDING RELATIONS WITH THE GULF STATES. HAVE THE RUSSIANS YET OFFERED, OR THE IRANIANS SOUGHT, ANY TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF A RUSSIAN DESIRE TO PRESERVE THEIR RELATIONS WITH IRAN (THE REPEATED ASSURANCES OF THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR MUST BY NOW RING RATHER HOLLOW) QUERY.
3. I.R.D. ARE LOOKING URGENTLY INTO THE POSSIBILITY OF INSPIRING AN ARTICLE CRITICISING THE TREATY. WE WILL ALSO CONSIDER WHEN WE HAVE SEEN THE TRANSCRIPTS OF BROADCASTS ALREADY MADE IN THE ARABIC SERVICES ON THIS SUBJECT WHETHER WE WOULD WISH TO ASK FOR MORE, THE SUBJECT HAS ALREADY HAD A NUMBER OF AIRINGS ON THE PERSIAN SERVICES.
4. WE AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE FOR IRAN TO APPOINT HER OWN AMBASSADOR IN THE U.A.E., THOUGH WE WONDER WHETHER THIS WOULD IN FACT DO MUCH TO REDUCE THE IRANIANS TENDENCY TO BLAME US FOR ZAID'S BEHAVIOUR. H.M. AMBASSADOR ABU DHABI WILL DO DOUBT COMMENT ON THE POSSIBILITY OF ZAKI GOING TO TEHRAN.

/5.

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5. WE ARE LOOKING AT THE PRACTICAL ASPECTS AND THE WIDER
POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE SUGGESTION IN PARA 2 OF YOUR TELNO
306.

DOUGLAS-HOME.

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RESEARCH D (SOVIET SECTION)

B Smith Esq
Middle East Department
F C O



8 April 1972

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REGISTRY No. 35
11 APR 1972

NBR 3/303/1

ABSP SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

1. Friendly delegations and messages began arriving in Baghdad this week to mark the week-long celebrations to mark the 25th Anniversary of the First Congress of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party on 7 April 1972.

2. The celebrations began on 7 April, and all over the country processions were held, foundation stones were laid, projects inaugurated, new buildings opened, and speeches delivered. The main event was the pumping of crude oil from INOC's North Rumaila field to Fao, where the Iraqi tanker "Rumaila" was waiting to take it on. This ceremony was attended by Saddam Hussein and Kosygin. It had been announced previously that the President would lay the foundation stone of the new Tharthar Canal linking the Euphrates and the Tigris but this has not yet taken place. The RCC announced on 7 April that they had promulgated a resolution declaring the Kurdish areas bilingual as provided for in the 11 March Agreement.

3. In general the visitors are being treated to the best that Iraq can offer. Their programme is as follows:

Friday	7 April	Dinner by National Leadership of ABSP
Saturday	8 April	Visit to Iskandariya Factory and Babylon, Gala Night at Al Mustansariya University, Baghdad
Sunday	9 April	Visit to Samarra Dinner by Baghdad Branch of the Party
Monday	10 April	In Mosul for first day of Spring Festival
Tuesday	11 April	Back to Baghdad for "a programme of activities" by students, an art exhibition, a cruise on the Tigris, and a concert by the National Symphony Orchestra
Wednesday	12 April	Visit to 7 April rural resettlement project and dinner by Regional Leadership of the Party.

4. I attach a list of the visiting delegation.

D I Lewty

ENC

c.c. Chanceries at BEIRUT, KUWAIT, TEHRAN (with enclosure)



(Leader(s) of) Delegations to ABSP Silver Jubilee
and/or INOC inaugural celebrations

Communist

USSR

Kosygin

Czechoslovakia

Adamte, Deputy Prime Minister

Yugoslavia

Medya Bazrak Tracks, member of Presidium

Hungary

Furo, Member of CP Central Committee, Minister
for Heavy Industry and Oil

N. Korea

Kin Ey Hon, Member of Central Committee of Korean
Workers Party

Bulgaria

Cordzanov, Candidate Member of CP Central
Committee

GDR

Gerhau Fuest, Member of Central Committee of
Socialist Unity Party

Rumania

Minister of Oil

Arab

Abu Dhabi

Minister of Petroleum and Industry

Kuwait

Minister of Oil



PDRY

Secretary General of National Front

Algeria

Ambassador to Baghdad

Saudi Arabia

Minister of State and Chairman of Planning
Organisation

Morocco

Members of Executive Committee of Istiqlaal
Party

Egypt

Chief editor of "Socialist Studies" magazine

Sudan

Qassim Ameen, Communist Party

Others

Guinea

Minister of Health

Central African Republic

Vice-Chairman of Ruling Party

Mozambique

Member of NLF High^{er} Committee

Cambodia

Member of National Front Central Committee

Shaikh al Tariqi, former Saudi Minister of Oil

Herr Zaidel, Chairman of Minoil of West Germany

Others included representatives of the Communist Parties of Austria, Italy, Venezuela, West Germany (Spartacus Organisation), of the Uruguay Socialist Party, the Swiss Labour Party, a "de Gaulle Leftist delegation" from France, the United Socialist Front of Belgium; and Arab-Friendship" Societies from Belgium, France and Finland.

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FM TEL AVIV 141036Z

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Mr. Smith
I think we would take exception to para 3 but otherwise conclusions are generally in line with our own 9/18/4 pa

TO ROUTINE FCO TEL NO 329 OF 14.4.72 INFO MOSCOW BAGHDAD CAIRO WASHINGTON AND INFO SAVING TO BEIRUT TRIPOLI AMMAN TEHRAN ANKARA 1 agree PARIS UK MIS NEW YORK.

MOSCOW TELEGRAMS NOS 509 AND 536: SOVIET IRAQI FRIENDSHIP TREATY. 14/4

IN A BACKGROUND NOTE, THE ISRAEL MINISTRY OF DEFENCE ANALYSES MOTIVES BEHIND THE TREATY ON THE FOLLOWING LINES:-

- (A) THE IRAQIS HOPE FOR MORE SOVIET ARMS, AND GREATER SOVIET ECONOMIC AID FOR OIL AND OTHER INDUSTRIES. THE REGIME HOPE ALSO TO BENEFIT FROM SOVIET INFLUENCE OVER THE IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY. THEY SEE THE TREATY AS GIVING THEM EQUAL STATUS WITH CAIRO IN THE ARAB WORLD. THE TREATY IS AN IMPORTANT NEW DEPARTURE FOR THEM SINCE THEY PREVIOUSLY HELD TO A POSITION FROM WHICH THEY COULD HOPE TO PLAY OFF EAST AND WEST AGAINST EACH OTHER. THEY SEE ITS CONCLUSION AS THE BEST MEANS OF ENSURING THAT THEY STAY IN POWER SEMICOLON
- (B) THE RUSSIANS SEE THE TREATY AS MARKING A POINT OF RECOVERY AFTER A PERIOD OF SOME DECLINE OF THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT WILL REINFORCE THEIR NAVAL- ACTIVITIES IN THE PERSIAN GULF AND INDIAN OCEAN, AND GIVE THEM A CHANCE TO BUILD UP THEIR INFLUENCE IN IRAQ ITSELF. THEY ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO TIE DOWN THE SYRIAN REGIME WITH A SIMILAR PACT.

2. THE DEFENCE MINISTRY ALSO NOTED THAT SOVIET SUPPORT FOR IRAQ'S EXTREMIST LINE ON THE ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE (CF PARA 1 (C) OF MOSCOW TELEGRAM NO 536) HAD NO PRECEDENT IN THE EGYPTIAN/SOVIET TREATY OF LAST YEAR.

3. WHEN I SAW SASSON AT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ON APRIL 12TH, HE ANALYSED THE NEW PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY ON LINES BROADLY SIMILAR TO MOSCOW TELEGRAM NO 536. HE THOUGHT THAT THE PRIMARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TREATY WOULD LIE IN A STEPPING-UP OF SOVIET PRESSURE ON IRAN, AND TO A LESSER EXTENT ON TURKEY,

CONFIDENTIAL /AND OF SOVIET INTEREST

CONFIDENTIAL
REGISTRY NO. 25
17 APR 1975

AND OF SOVIET INTEREST IN THE PERSIAN GULF. HE EXPECTED THAT BOTH IRAN AND TURKEY WERE IN FOR AN INTENSIVE COURSE OF THE HOT AND COLD TREATMENT.

4. SASSON SAID THAT THE TREATY SHOWED THAT THE PRIMARY RUSSIAN INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE EAST WAS NOT WITH THE ARAB/ISRAEL DISPUTE. THIS HAD BEEN THEIR CARD OF ENTRY IN 1954/5. BUT NOW THEY WERE THINKING INCREASINGLY IN TERMS OF THEIR INFLUENCE AND POSITION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE SURROUNDING AREAS AS A WHOLE. THEIR INTEREST HAD BECOME MORE GENERAL AND THEIR AMBITIONS WIDER. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION (MY LETTER OF APRIL 11TH TO BULLARD) HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT THINK IT WAS A MATTER OF THE RUSSIANS LOOKING FOR AN ALTERNATIVE FOOTHOLD TO EGYPT, IN THE ARAB WORLD. HE WAS MORE INCLINED TO THINK THAT THEY WERE MOVING TOWARDS A NETWORK OF BILATERAL TREATIES WITH ARAB COUNTRIES, WITH A VIEW TO UNDERPINNING THEIR POSITION IN THE AREAS AS A WHOLE ON SOMEWHAT SIMILAR LINES TO THOSE THEY HAVE PURSUED IN EASTERN EUROPE.

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ANKARA PARIS UK MIS NEW YORK.

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OIL DEPT:

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RESEARCH DEPT: (SOVIET SECTION)

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(1) The fact reported by colleagues in the
influence in Iraq.
(2) Now made a treaty with Iraq.

CABINET

(3) X Provisions an entire for Soviet influence in
the Gulf.

(5) To draft a treaty to encourage other Arab states to join
the oil wealth as a lever v. the West.

Speaking Notes

IRAQI/SOVIET TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION.

1. As had been expected, Premier Kosygin signed a Treaty with Iraq on 9 April during his visit to Baghdad to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Ba'ath Party and the first shipment of oil from North Rumaila; the latter was developed with Soviet assistance and is part of the concession area expropriated from the Iraq Petroleum Company. Soviet India ocean concern
2. The Iraqis may have taken the lead in suggesting a formal Treaty during the visit to Moscow in February of Saddam Hossein, Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council. But the document shows major Soviet influence in its composition; it closely resembles last year's Soviet Friendship Treaty with Egypt and includes some passages borrowed from the Treaty with India. Like those Treaties, it calls for a wide range of cooperation in political, economic and military fields, regular consultation on important international issues affecting Soviet and Iraqi interests and immediate contacts to coordinate their positions in situations endangering the peace of either country.
3. One aspect of the Treaty, which is not paralleled in the two preceding Treaties, is the implication in Article 9 that there is a two-way obligation to cooperate in the strengthening of defence capabilities. The Russians may intend to use this as a basis for seeking military facilities for their own use in Iraq.

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-2-

4. The references to oil, and the more intemperate language used in connection with the Middle East conflict, give a distinctly Iraqi flavour to the latest Treaty.

5. The Treaty is an important step in Soviet efforts to strengthen and extend their influence in the Middle East, and to reinsure with other Arab states against any possibility of a deterioration in Soviet-Egyptian relations. Iraq provides an entrée for Soviet influence in the Persian Gulf and an opportunity to encourage Arab states to use their oil wealth as a lever against the West. On the debit side, it means a deeper Soviet involvement in an inherently unstable area and will certainly alarm the Shah. The Soviet Union will, however, do its best to minimize any consequent risk to its important relationship with Iran.

6. The Iraqis, for their part, have gained formal confirmation of Russian support in the military and economic fields and assistance over the development of North Rumaila. No doubt they will also hope to engage the Soviet Union on their side in anti-Iranian policies, particularly in the Gulf, though it is unlikely that the Russians will risk blighting their relations with Iran by supporting Iraq in this field. They will probably also be reluctant to prejudice their budding relations with e.g. Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates by giving direct encouragement for Iraqi subversive activities.

MIDDLE EAST DEPARTMENT

12 April 1972

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Mr. ~~Parsons~~ *Parsons* 12/4.
Private Secretary

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17 APR 1972
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IRAQI/SOVIET TREATY

FLAG A

1. I submit a ^{speaking} ~~draft~~ Note for Cabinet on the above Treaty (of which an unofficial translation is attached) for use by the Secretary of State at tomorrow's meeting of the Cabinet.

2. Eastern European and Soviet Department concur.

hall
D G Allen

Middle East Department

12 April 1972

Copies to: Mr. Craig, NENAD

Mr. Bullard EESD

CONFIDENTIAL

Tuesday, April 11, 1972

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JOINT SOVIET-IRAQI COMMUNIQUE

The Soviet Government and Party delegation led by A.N.Kosygin, Politbureau Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, stayed on an official friendly visit in Iraq on April 6 through 10, 1972, at the invitation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath) and the Government of the Iraqi Republic.

The Soviet Party and Government delegation participated in festivities in connection with the beginning of national oil extraction in Northern Rumaila, which became possible thanks to sincere and fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iraq. Members of the Soviet delegation were also present at festivities in Baghdad on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath).

During their stay in the Iraqi Republic, members of the Soviet Party and Government delegation made a trip through the country and had an opportunity to become acquainted with the life of the Iraqi people, their work and achievements in the fields of the economy, science and culture. Wherever they went, they were accorded warm, cordial reception.

Ahmed Hassan el-Bakr, Secretary General of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and President of the Iraqi Republic, received A.N.Kosygin in the Presidential Palace. Talks took place between A.N.Kosygin and Saddam Hussein, Deputy Secretary General of the Regional Leadership of the Baath Party and Vice-President of the Council of the Revolutionary Command.

Taking part in the talks were:

For the Soviet side -- V.D.Shashin, Alternate Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of the Oil Industry of the USSR; E.I.Kuskov, Member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and First Deputy Head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; I.V.Arkhypov, First Vice-Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.D.Sytenko, Collegium Member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and V.A.Likhachev, USSR Ambassador to the Iraqi Republic.

Tuesday, April 11, 1972

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- 2 -

For the Iraqi side -- Mortada Said Abdel Baqi, Member of the Council of the Revolutionary Command and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Taha el-Jazrawi, Member of the Council of the Revolutionary Command and Minister for Industry; Dr. Saadoun Hamadi, Minister for Oil; Dr. Fakhri Kadouri, Member of the Economic Bureau attached to the Council of the Revolutionary Command; Tarik Aziz, Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper Al-Thawrah, the organ of the Baath Party of Iraq; Shazel Taqa, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mehdi Amash, Ambassador of the Iraqi Republic to the USSR; Dr. Mustafa Kamal Yasin, Director General of the United Nations and International Organisations Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq; Munzer Ureim, Director General of the Political Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq; and Muhammed Reda el-Jaberi, Director of the Socialist Countries Sub-Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

Issues of further development of Soviet-Iraqi relations in various spheres were discussed during talks and negotiations which took place in an atmosphere of friendship, frankness and mutual understanding; there was also an exchange of opinions on vital problems of the present international situation. The Sides unanimously expressed the opinion that the successful development of relations between the parties of the two countries was an important means of enhancing the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Iraq.

Moved by a reciprocal desire to strengthening and consolidate still more relations of friendship and cooperation between the two states and nations, and being firmly convinced that the further development of these relations conforms to the interests of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Iraq, and promotes the cause of strengthening the world peace, the Sides decided to conclude the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Iraq.

The Treaty was signed in Baghdad on April 9, 1972. On behalf of the Soviet Union the Treaty was signed by A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and on behalf of the Republic of Iraq by President Ahmed Hassan el-Bakr of the Republic of Iraq.

This Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation is an important document which fixes down the attained level of friendly relations between the two countries, and provides a stronger foundation for their further development and consolidation, and makes a major contribution to the cause of the joint struggle against imperialism, colonialism and Zionism, for peace, national independence and social progress.

- 3 -

Having stressed their complete satisfaction with the attained level of relations of friendship and all-round fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Iraq, the Sides confirmed the reciprocal desire to use every opportunity to continue developing and strengthening these relations in political, economic, defence. and other fields.

The Iraqi Side expressed feelings of deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for assistance in the development of the country's economy, especially in the establishment of the national oil industry. A major project of Soviet-Iraqi cooperation in this area is the oil field in Northern Rumaila officially opened on April 7 this year.

The successful completion of the construction of this project marks the beginning of an important stage in the struggle of the people of Iraq against the sway of imperialist oil monopolies, for achieving complete economic independence of the Republic of Iraq. During this construction, Soviet and Iraqi workers and specialists worked side by side, strengthening and cementing the fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Iraq.

The Sides discussed major international problems, and once again reaffirmed the coincidence or affinity of the stands of the Sides on these problems. The Soviet and the Iraqi Sides declared that they would continue to join their efforts in the struggle against imperialist aggression, for peace, international security, for the development of cooperation based on equal rights, and to render support to the peoples fighting against imperialism, for national independence, liberty and social progress.

During the discussions on the problems dealing with the Middle East, the Sides reaffirmed that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be established without the liberation of all the Arab territories, occupied as a result of the Israeli imperialist aggression, and without ensuring the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine. They once again expressed their support to the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the recovery of their lawful rights.

In the light of the recent visits of the Iraqi delegation, headed by Saddam Hussein, Vice-President of the Council of the Revolutionary Command, to the friendly fraternal countries of Egypt and Syria, the Iraqi Side described its latest steps toward Arab unity to oppose the intrigues of imperialism and its agents in that area.

... 4 -

The Soviet Side, highly appreciating the efforts to strengthen the unity of the Arab countries on a progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist foundation, welcomes the steps taken by the leaders of Iraq and other progressive Arab countries in that direction.

The Sides expressed great satisfaction with the results of the visit made to the Republic of Iraq by the Soviet Party and Government delegation, a visit which will promote a further development and strengthening of friendship and all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iraq.

The Soviet delegation reaffirmed, on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and Soviet Government, its invitation to Ahmed Hassan el-Bakr, President of the Republic of Iraq, to come to the Soviet Union with an official visit in the second half of 1972. President Bakr expressed feelings of gratitude, and said that he would make this visit in a period coordinated through diplomatic channels.

(Pravda, April 11, In full.)

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TO ROUTINE FCO TELNO 223 OF 17 APRIL INFO ROUTINE TO TEHRAN
MUSCAT CAIRO BEIRUT KUWAIT TEL AVIV AMMAN WASHINGTON AND PARIS

20

YOUR TELNO 218 TO TEHRAN, PARA4: IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY AND THE UAE

1. THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TOLD ME TODAY THAT THERE
HAS BEEN NO (N) MOVE FORWARD ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A VISIT
TO TEHRAN. BY ZAKI.

2. I PROPOSE TO MENTION THE MATTER INFORMALLY TO THE PRESIDENT
PERHAPS TOMORROW.

TREADWELL

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TO PRIORITY TEHRAN TELEGRAM NO. 226 OF 17 APRIL INFO MOSCOW.

MYTELNO 218: IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY.

20 MOD HAVE NOW CONFIRMED, AS WE HALF-EXPECTED THAT THEY HAVE NO REPEAT NO VESSEL AVAILABLE WHICH COULD SUPPORT HMS FALMOUTH NEXT MONTH. WE REGRET, THEREFORE, THAT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO PURSUE PROPOSAL IN PARA 2 OF YOUR TELNO 306.

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19 APR 1972

NBR3/303/11

A useful summary.

Mr. ~~Sumner~~ 11/4
Enter.

1. The Soviet/Iraqi Treaty, signed on 9 April 1972, is basically similar to the May 1970 Soviet/UAR Treaty. There are, however, differences in emphasis and wording which are examined in detail below. I have side-lined the more significant differences. I also attach a tabular comparison of the operative articles of the three treaties.

2. Like the Soviet/UAR Treaty, the Iraqi Treaty describes itself as one of friendship and cooperation; the Soviet/Indian Treaty was one of peace, friendship and cooperation.

3. All three preambles speak of the desire of the parties to strengthen sincere friendship. The UAR Treaty specifies that this friendship is between "both states and peoples". The Treaties contain a preambular para, the essence of which is that the development of cooperation between the parties meets the interests of both states (in the Iraqi and Indian Treaties) or the peoples of both states (in the UAR Treaty) and serves the cause of peace (here the Iraqi Treaty specifies in "the area of the Arab countries" and the whole world; the Indian,

/"in

"in Asia and the whole world" while the UAR Treaty refers to "the general peace"). All preambles contain similar references to the UN Charter. The Iraqi preamble contains the following formulations which are not to be found in either of the others:

- a. "believing that the strengthening of the cohesion of all forces of peace and progress, including the consolidation of the unity of Arab states, on an anti-imperialist basis is an important means of struggle for lasting peace and international security"
- b. "inspired by ideals of struggle against imperialism, colonialism, zionism and reaction" (the underlined words do not occur in the UAR Treaty which is, otherwise, identical).
- c. "Wishing to develop and strengthen the existing relations of friendship, cooperation and mutual trust, striving to raise these relations to a new, even higher level, have decided to conclude the present Treaty"

(The comparable paragraph in the UAR Text reads as follows: "motivated by the desire to strengthen and consolidate the traditional relations of sincere friendship between the two states and peoples through the conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, thus creating a basis for the further development of these relations").

/4.

ARTICLE 1

4. This article in all Treaties deals with the principles of friendship. Respect for independence is included in the Indian Treaty but not in the Iraq or UAR Treaties. The latter do, however, specify cooperation in "political, economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other fields". The Iraqi Treaty omits any reference to "respect for the principles of.....equality and mutual benefit" which occurs in both of the other Treaties.

ARTICLE 2

5. This article reflects the social system of each party and corresponds to Article 2 of the Soviet/UAR Treaty and, approximately, to Article 4 of the Indian Treaty which contains Soviet recognition of India's nonaligned position. The main difference from the UAR Treaty is that Iraq is not described as aiming at socialism or the Soviet Union as a socialist state. The echo of the Brezhnev doctrine is therefore weaker, although both sides undertake to cooperate in preserving and developing their "socio-economic gains". The Iraq text contains a reference not in the other treaties to respect for sovereignty "over all their natural resources". This clearly reflects the Iraqi interest in oil.

ARTICLE 3

6. This corresponds to Article 3 of the UAR Treaty and Article 2 of the Indian Treaty. They each refer to the need for general disarmament measures but, whereas both the UAR and Indian texts call specifically for peace in their respective areas, the Iraqi Treaty calls
/only

only for "peace in the whole world". Otherwise, the language of the Iraqi Treaty is closest to the Indian Treaty.

ARTICLE 4

7. These articles (No 3 of the Indian Treaty) assert the equality of all peoples irrespective of their race or religious persuasion and condemn colonialism and racism - and in the Iraqi Treaty only, Zionism and neo-colonialism. Generally, the Iraqi Treaty is more extreme than either of the other two and appears to be an Iraqi rather than Soviet draft.

Article 5

8. This article, scientific and technical cooperation and trade relations, corresponds to Article 5 of the UAR Treaty and Article 6 of the Indian. Basically, the Iraqi text is identical to that of the UAR with the addition of a clause covering mutual assistance in the working of oil and other natural resources - thus reflecting Soviet assistance in the Rumailia oil fields. Otherwise the most noteworthy difference between the Indian and the other two treaties is the omission of any reference to the training of national cadres in the former.

ARTICLE 6

9. This article follows closely the language of the UAR Treaty except that the Iraq Treaty refers to the expansion of contacts between "state bodies" instead of "political organizations". This may reflect reservations on the Iraqi side about the role of the Iraqi Communist Party.

/The

The Iraq Treaty also has an additional phrase:
(There will be cooperation....) "with the aim of
securing a fuller mutual acquaintance with the life,
labour and achievements of the peoples of both
countries in various fields".

ARTICLE 7

10. This article covers general political consultation.
In its references to "concerted Actions on the inter-
national scene", the Iraq text is closer to the UAR
Treaty, which speaks of "coordination of actions" rather
than the Indian, which refers only to "mutual cooperation".
The Iraq Treaty also pledges regular bilateral con-
sultations "on questions of further developing bilateral
relations". This concept does not appear in either of
the other treaties.

ARTICLE 8

11. This corresponds to the second paragraph of
Article 7 of the UAR Treaty. There is, however, one
significant omission from the otherwise identical
wording. The UAR text states that "In the event of the
development of situations that, in the opinion of both
sides, create a threat to peace...." The underlined
passage does not occur in the Iraqi text. This omission,
plus the fact that it is treated in a separate article,
gives the concept of crisis consultation rather more
emphasis in the Iraq Treaty.

ARTICLE 9

12. Whereas the equivalent Article 8 in the UAR Treaty
is concerned with spelling out the question of Soviet

/assistance

assistance to Egypt, the Iraqi text talks in general terms of developing "cooperation in the strengthening of their defence capabilities". This formulation could imply that Iraq undertakes to provide military assistance or facilities to the Soviet Union as well as vice versa. There is no equivalent Article in the Indian Treaty.

ARTICLE 10

13. The undertaking not to allow the use of territory "for any act capable of inflicting military damage to the other side", has been taken from the Indian Treaty. It does not occur in the UAR text.

ARTICLE 11

14. This is identical with Article 10 of the UAR Treaty. The Indian Treaty has an undertaking not to enter into any commitments "secret or open" which would be incompatible with the Treaty or to make any commitments which would be "militarily detrimental" to the other side. The Iraqi text contains a general pledge.

ARTICLE 12

15. Validity. Similar to the UAR Treaty. It is concluded for a period of 15 years with automatic renewal every 5 years. The Indian Treaty is for 20 years, with subsequent 5 year renewals.

ARTICLE 13

16. This article has no equivalent in the UAR Treaty but is identical to Article 12 of the Indian Treaty.

ARTICLE 14

17. This is common to all three treaties.

R Reeve
Soviet Section
Research Department

14 April 1972.

Copy to:

NENAD

USSR - IRAQ

Article I

The high contracting parties declared that inviolable friendship will exist between the two countries and their peoples and all-round cooperation will develop in the political, economic, trade, scientific, technical, cultural and other fields on the basis of respect for state sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Article 2

The USSR and the Iraqi republic declare that they will closely and comprehensively cooperate in ensuring conditions for preserving and further developing the socio-economic gains of their peoples and respect for the sovereignty of each of them over all their natural resources.

USSR - EGYPT

Article I

The high contracting parties solemnly declare that unbreakable friendship will always exist between the two countries and their peoples. They will continue to develop and strengthen the existing relations of friendship and all-round cooperation between them in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and other fields on the basis of the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, equality and mutual benefit.

Article 2

The USSR as a socialist state and the UAR which has set itself the aim of reconstructing society along socialist lines will cooperate closely and in all fields in ensuring conditions for preserving and further developing the social and economic gains of their peoples.

USSR - INDIA

Article I

The high contracting parties solemnly declare that there shall be a lasting peace and friendship between their countries and their peoples. Each side shall respect the independence sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other. Both sides shall continue to develop and strengthen the relations of sincere friendship, good neighbourliness and all-round cooperation existing between them on the basis of the above-mentioned principles as well as the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 4

The USSR respects India's policy of non-alignment and reaffirms that this policy is an important factor for maintaining world peace and international security and for easing tension in the world.

The republic of India respects the peaceful policy of the USSR aimed at strengthening friendship and cooperation with all peoples.

Article 3

The high contracting parties, consistently pursuing the policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, in accordance with their peace-loving foreign policy will further come out for peace in the whole world, for an easing of international tensions, for the attainment of general and complete disarmament, encompassing both nuclear and conventional arms under effective international control.

Article 4

Being guided by the ideals of freedom and equality of all the peoples, the high contracting parties condemn imperialism and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, they will further conduct an undeviating struggle against imperialism and zionism, for a full, final and unconditional liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid, come out for the speediest full implementation of the UN Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The sides will cooperate with each other and with other peace-loving states in supporting the just struggle of the peoples for their sovereignty, freedom, independence and social progress.

Article 3

Being guided by a desire to contribute in every way towards maintaining international peace and the security of the peoples, the USSR and the UAR will continue with all determination to make efforts towards achieving and ensuring a lasting and fair peace in the Middle East in accordance with the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter. In pursuing a peace-loving foreign policy, the high contracting parties come out for peace, relaxation of international tension, achievement of general and complete disarmament and prohibition of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

Article 4

Being guided by the ideals of freedom and equality of all the peoples, the high contracting parties condemn imperialism and colonialism in all their forms and manifestations. They will continue to come out against imperialism for the full and final elimination of colonialism in pursuance of the UN declaration on the granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples and wage unswervingly the struggle against racism and apartheid.

Article 2

Being guided by a desire to contribute in every way towards ensuring the lasting peace and security of their peoples, the high contracting parties declare their determination to continue efforts to maintain and strengthen peace in Asia and throughout the world, end the arms race and achieve general and complete disarmament covering both nuclear and conventional weapons under effective international control.

Article 3

Being guided by their devotion to the lofty ideal of equality of all peoples and states irrespective of their race or creed, the high contracting parties condemn colonialism and racism in all their forms and manifestations and reaffirm their determination to strive for their final and full abolition. The high contracting parties shall cooperate with other states in achieving these aims and to support the just aspirations of the peoples in their struggle against colonialism and racial domination.

Article 5

Attaching much importance to economic, technical and scientific cooperation between them, the high contracting parties will further expand and deepen this cooperation and exchange of experience in industry, agriculture, irrigation and water conservancy, in the working of oil and other natural resources, in the field of communications and in other branches of the economy as well as in the training of national cadres.

The two sides will expand trade and shipping between the two states on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual advantage and most favoured nation treatment.

Article 6

The high contracting parties will facilitate a further development of ties and contacts between them in the field of science, art, literature education, public health, press, radio, cinematography, television, tourism, sport and in other fields, with the aim of securing a fuller mutual acquaintance with the life, labour and achievements of the peoples of both countries in various fields. The sides will facilitate on expansion of cooperation and direct ties between state bodies and public organisations, enterprises, cultural and scientific institutions of both states.

Article 5

The High Contracting Parties will continue to expand and deepen comprehensive cooperation and exchanges of experience in the economic, scientific and technical fields - in industry, agriculture, water resources irrigation, the development of natural resources, the development of power engineering and the training of national cadres and in other fields of the economy.

The two sides will expand trade and navigation between the two sides on the basis of the principles of mutual advantage and most-favoured-nation treatment

Article 6

The high contracting parties will promote the further development of their cooperation in the fields of science, the arts, literature, education, public health, the press, radio, television, cinematography, tourism, physical culture and other fields.

The two sides will promote the expansion of cooperation and direct ties between political and public organisations of the working people, enterprises and cultural and scientific institutions for the purpose of deeper mutual acquaintance with the life, labour and achievements of the two countries' peoples

Article 6

Attributing great importance to economic, scientific and technical cooperation between them, the high contracting parties will continue to strengthen and broaden their mutually beneficial and comprehensive cooperation in these fields and also expand cooperation in the fields of trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual advantage and the most-favoured-nation principle in compliance with the existing agreements and special agreements with neighbouring countries as stipulated in the December 26, 1970 trade agreement between the USSR and India.

Article 7

The high contracting parties will promote the further development of the ties and contacts between them in the fields of science, the arts, literature, education, public health, press, radio, television, cinema, tourism and sports.

Article 7

Attaching much importance to concerted actions on the international scene in the interests of ensuring peace and security and also to the development of political cooperation between the Soviet Union and Iraq, the high contracting parties will regularly consult each other at various levels on all important international questions concerning the interests of both states, as well as on questions of further developing bilateral relations.

Article 8

In the event of situations arising which threaten the peace of either of the sides or create a threat to peace or violate peace, the high contracting parties will immediately contact each other with the aim of coordinating their positions in the interests of removing the threat or restoring peace.

Article 9

In the interests of the security of both countries, the high contracting parties will continue to develop cooperation in the strengthening of their defence capabilities.

Article 7

Being deeply interested in ensuring peace and the security of the peoples, and attaching great importance to the coordination of their actions in the international arena in the struggle for peace, for this purpose the high contracting parties will hold regular consultations at various levels on all important questions affecting the interests of both states. In the event of the development of situations that, in the opinion of both sides, create a threat to peace or a violation of peace, they will immediately contact one another for the purpose of coordinating their positions in the interests of removing the threat that has developed or restoring peace.

Article 8

In the interests of strengthening the defence capability of the UAR, the high contracting parties will continue to develop cooperation in the military field on the basis of separate agreements between the two countries. Such cooperation will provide, in particular, for assistance in the training of UAR military personnel and in mastering the armaments and equipment delivered to the UAR for the purpose of increasing its capability for eliminating the consequences of aggression, as well as for increasing its ability to withstand aggression in general.

Article 5

Being deeply interested in ensuring world peace and security and attaching great importance to mutual cooperation in the international arena to achieve these aims, the high contracting parties shall maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both sides, through meetings and exchanges of opinion between their leading statesmen, visits by official delegations and special representatives of the two governments and through diplomatic channels

No equivalent article

USSR - IRAQ

Article 10

Each of the high contracting parties declares that it will not enter alliances or take part in any groupings of states or in actions or undertakings directed against the other high contracting party. Each of the high contracting parties undertakes not to permit the use of its territory for any act capable of inflicting military damage to the other side.

Article 11

The two high contracting parties declare that their commitments under existing international treaties are not in contradiction with the provision of the present treaty and undertake not to conclude any international agreements incompatible with it.

USSR - EGYPT

Article 9

Proceeding from the goals and principles of this treaty, each of the high contracting parties declares that it will not enter into alliances and will not take part in any groupings of states or in actions or measures directed against the other high contracting party.

Article 10

Identical

USSR - INDIA

Article 8

In accordance with the traditional friendship established between the two countries, each of the high contracting parties solemnly declares that it will not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other side.

Each of the high contracting parties pledges to refrain from any aggression against the other side and not to allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may be detrimental to the other high contracting party.

Article 10

Each of the high contracting parties solemnly declares that it will not undertake any commitment, secret or open, to a third state or states, incompatible with the present Treaty. Each of the high contracting parties further declares that it has no commitments to a third state or states and will not make any commitments that may be militarily detrimental to the other side.

Art. 12

The present treaty is concluded for a period of 15 years and will be automatically prolonged for each subsequent 5-year period if either of the high contracting parties does not express its desire to terminate its action, informing the other high contracting party 12 months before the expiration of the Treaty.

Article 13

Any differences that may arise between the high contracting parties concerning the interpretation of some provision of the present treaty will be resolved bilaterally in a spirit of friendship, mutual respect and understanding.

Article 14

The present treaty is subject to ratification and will enter into force on the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification, which will be effected in Moscow in the shortest possible period of time.

Article 11

This treaty will be in effect for 15 years from the day it enters into force. If neither of the high contracting parties declares 1 year before the expiration of the above term its desire to terminate the treaty, it will remain in force for the next 5 years and until such time as one of the high contracting parties, 1 year before the expiration of the current five-year period, gives written notice of its intention to terminate the treaty.

No equivalent article

Article 12

This treaty is subject to ratification and will enter into force on the day of the exchange of instruments of ratification, which will take place in the near future in the city of Moscow.

Article 11

a) The present treaty is concluded for a term of 20 years and will be prolonged automatically for each subsequent 5-year period unless one of the high contracting parties declares its intention to terminate its operation by notifying the other high contracting party 12 months before the expiration of the term of the treaty.

Article 12

Any differences in interpreting any article or articles of the present treaty that may arise between the high contracting parties will be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

Article 11

b) The treaty is subject to ratification and will enter into force on the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification which will take place in Moscow within 1 month after the signing of the present treaty.

Note

Article 9 of the USSR - Indian Treaty has no equivalent in either the Egyptian or Iraqi treaties. It reads as follows:

"Each of the high contracting parties pledges to refrain from giving assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict with the other side. In the event that either side is attacked or threatened with attack, the high contracting parties will immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to eliminate this threat and take appropriate effective measures to ensure the peace and security of their countries."

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO TEL NO 326 OF 19 APRIL INFO ROUTINE MOSCOW.

YOUR TELEGRAM NO. 218: ²⁰IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY.

1. I AM GRATEFUL FOR THE DOCUMENTS DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 1 WHICH HAVE NOW REACHED ME. HOWEVER I NOTE THAT THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE DRAFT DETAILED ITEM FOR " COMMUNIST POLICY AND TACTICS " READS :

"IN ANY EVENT THE ARTICLE (NO 9.) SEEMS LIKELY TO CAUSE CONCERN IN TEHRAN AND THE RUSSIANS , WHO UNDOUBTEDLY ATTACH CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE TO THEIR RELATION WITH IRAN, WILL PROBABLY TAKE STEPS TO ALLAY THE SHAH'S FEARS".

2. I RECOMMEND THAT THIS SENTENCE SHOULD BE DELETED BEFORE THIS MONTH'S " POLICY AND TACTICS " IS PRINTED. WE PASS A COPY EACH MONTH TO THE POLITICAL UNDER SECRETARY IN THE IRANIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY, AND THE SENTENCE WILL READ STRANGELY IN IRANIAN EYES. MOREOVER IT ADDS NOTHING TO THE EXCELLENT ANALYSIS OF ARTICLE 9.

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BRITISH EMBASSY

MOSCOW

14 April 1972



3/7

J C Kay Esq
Middle East Department
FCO



Mr. Smith
L. Smith
See 32
NBR 21/4
12

KOSYGIN'S VISIT TO IRAQ

In comparison with the interest which surrounded the signature of the Soviet/Iraqi Treaty of Friendship and co-operation the speeches and the activities of the delegation in Baghdad have been for the most part dull and predictable. The major speeches were made by Saddam Hussein and Kosygin at the ceremonial opening of the North Rumaila oil field and by Kosygin and al-Bakr at the signature ceremony on 9 April (I enclose copy of translations of both). The first exchanges are wholly unremarkable with Saddam Hussein predictably voicing to Iraqi gratitude to the Soviet Union for the help given in equipping the oil field and Kosygin repeating the by now standard line that Soviet collaboration with the progressive forces of the Arab world is designed to increase their unity and strengthen their ability to resist the forces of imperialism and aggression. The speeches at the signature ceremony are rather more interesting. Al-Bakr emphasised the importance of the Treaty in furthering the just fight of the Arab peoples against Zionist aggression, adding "we are convinced of the ability of Arab people to free the land stolen from them and guarantee their lawful rights." Kosygin, on the other hand, adopted a more moderate view, seeing the Treaty as an instrument for co-ordinating the forces of the two countries "in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism for the achievement of a firm and just peace in the Middle east and the lessening of international tension." As reported in our telegram no. 536 of 12 April Kosygin was also at pains to point out that the Treaty was not directed against their countries (a point which is not made in the Treaty itself). *third*

2. As well as taking part in the opening of the oil field and the signature of the Treaty Kosygin is reported by the Soviet press to have had a full day of talks with Saddam Hussein on 8 April. On 9 April he had separate meetings with both First Secretary of the Iraqi Communist Party, Aziz Mohamad, and Mohamad Mahmud Abdel Rahman, member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Kurdish Democratic Party. The meetings were described as taking place in, respectively, a "cordial and comradely atmosphere" and a "warm and comradely atmosphere". In keeping with the standard Soviet line on the Iraqi national front, the Soviet press, gave prominence to the presence at the airport of representatives of both these groups when Kosygin arrived on 6 April.



3. Also on 9 April Kosygin is reported to have received Abdul Fattah Ismail, General Secretary of the PDRY national front who was staying in Baghdad at the time. The official communique stated that an exchange of views took place on a number of bilateral and international questions and that the meeting proceeded in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding of the problems discussed.

4. One rather curious aspect of the visit is the failure to mention in the announcement of Kosygin's departure (our telegram no 489 of 6 April) that the delegation was to take part in the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party as well as the ceremonial opening of the North Rumaila oil field. Reference to the Ba'ath Party anniversary crept in later in the description of the visit in Pravda's international round-up on Sunday 9 April and is also taken up in Kosygin's speech at the signature ceremony on the same day. Curiously however there is no reference in the press coverage of the visit to any specific events celebrating this anniversary (though there was a report of a reception during the visit at the Iraqi Embassy in Moscow). At the same time it seems more than coincidental that reports of the visit to Damascus of a Soviet party delegation for the 25th anniversary of the Syrian Ba'ath party (my letter 3/70 of 6 April to Miss Beckett) almost disappeared from the press with the departure for Iraq of Kosygin's delegation a day later. One possible explanation is that once a decision had been taken that Kosygin should go to Iraq (and there are indications that the decision was taken at fairly short notice) it was also decided that the visit should be given as much content as possible. This included references to the 25th anniversary of the Iraqi Ba'ath Party which in turn involved playing down the rival celebrations in Syria. At any rate this is rather how it seems from here, though this view of events has serious implications for the state of Soviet/Syrian relations which may not be entirely justified.

5. The only press comment to appear on the Treaty has been in an Izvestia article of 12 April on the general topic of Soviet Arab friendship. The article describes the Treaty as a demonstration not only of the steadily developing relations of friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the two countries but also of the steadfastness of Soviet Arab friendship and co-operation in general; for the rest it concentrates on the hostile insinuations of the western press about Soviet motives in assisting Arab oil producing countries. The argument in reply claims that assistance in exploiting oil resources in Iraq and elsewhere is no more sinister than assistance in building high level dams in Egypt and Syria and that those who see sinister motives in this only reveal their own aim of hanging on to what they consider to be their "spheres of influence" in the Arab world. In view of the potentially inflammatory aspects of the Treaty seen particularly from the point of view of the Shah, it would not be surprising if further press comment on the Treaty were to promote a similarly pan-Arab rather than strictly Soviet/Iraqi view of its significance.

cc. EESD
Chancery, Baghdad

Gordon Vincent
M J Robinson

(M J Robinson)

Monday, April 10, 1972

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A.N.KOSYGIN'S VISIT TO IRAQ

Celebrations in Northern Rumaila

In the morning of April 7, the Soviet Party and Government delegation, led by A.N.Kosygin, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, made a trip to the region of Northern Rumaila to take part in the celebrations on the occasion of the putting into operation of the republic's first big national oil field and the oil pipe line, connecting this region with the port of Fao on the bank of the Shatt al Arab River. In this trip the Soviet guests are accompanied by Saddam Hussein, Deputy General Secretary of the Regional Leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, Vice-Chairman of the Council of the Revolutionary Command of the Iraqi Republic.

The population and the local authorities of Basra, the second largest city in Iraq, rendered a warm reception to A.N.Kosygin and the persons accompanying him during their short stop-over in this city on their way to Northern Rumaila where a mass meeting took place to mark today's event.

The floor was given to Saddam Hussein.

Today, he said, we, who have gathered here, in Northern Rumaila, are marking, together with the people of our country, an important event in our national history, the beginning of the direct extraction of our own oil after our oil resources were in the hands of foreign oil monopolistic companies for about half a century.

The revolution of July 17, 1968, Saddam Hussein continued, started the creation of the necessary conditions for the realisation of direct extraction of their oil by Iraqis. In July, 1969, the Iraqi Government concluded an agreement on economic and technical cooperation with the friendly Soviet Union. It provided for giving assistance to Iraq by Soviet specialists, for delivering the necessary equipment to extract oil, and for training Iraqi national specialists.

In the course of the three years of persistent labour and active cooperation among Iraq, the Soviet Union and other friendly countries, this great task has been accomplished. The success we have won is a symbol of creative abilities of our people and the victory over imperialism and monopolies. This success is also a symbol of the firm friendship and sincere cooperation between Iraq and the Soviet Union, a strong foundation for the strengthening of our relations in the future.

In conclusion Saddam Hussein thanked Soviet specialists and technicians for their honest and selfless labour, and stressed that the oil field, that had been built in Northern Rumaila, was a bright symbol of Soviet-Iraqi friendship.

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He hailed friendship between the USSR and Iraq.

The floor was then given to A.N.Kosygin.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, he said, asked our delegation to convey warm and cordial greetings to you, the builders of the Iraqi national oil fields in Northern Rumaila and congratulate you on a major victory in building up the national economy of Iraq, in strengthening the independence of the country. Through you we greet the industrious and friendly people of the Iraqi Republic.

We are glad to see among you and cordially greet our compatriots, Soviet specialists, who work side by side with their Iraqi brethren at this very important construction project for Iraq and who promote by their devoted labour the growth of friendly relations between our countries and peoples.

The Soviet people entertain feelings of profound sympathies and friendship with the peoples of Iraq, with whom we are united by the community of aims in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for freedom and progress. The community of our aims in this struggle promotes the further expansion of Soviet-Iraqi relations and cooperation along state and social lines. The Soviet Union is wholly on the side of the Arab states struggling for their national wealth, oil in the first place, to belong to its legitimate masters, the peoples of these countries.

Under the impact of the national liberation struggle of peoples the imperialists were compelled to retreat in the Middle East as well as in many other areas of the world. The peoples of many countries put an end, once and for all, to colonial regime, colonialist trusteeship and other forms of political dependence on imperialist powers, which are insulting for the dignity of nations, for the dignity of every free person. Although they still continue to exploit the national wealth of the countries of this area and make fabulous profits, capitalist oil monopolies were forced to retreat in the Middle and Near East as well.

Upon describing the experience of the Soviet Union's industrialisation and the technical re-equipment of its national economy, which is extensively used by the developing countries in their struggle for independence, against the dominance of foreign capital, A.N.Kosygin said:

Although today Iraq and other Arab countries are still short of specialists, technicians, scientists and skilled workers necessary for the successful development of their national economy, they will, doubtless, solve this very important problem with the aid of the socialist countries in the near

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future. They will solve it in the name of a lofty aim--consolidation of their independence and acceleration of the economic and social progress of their peoples. This will be a major historic victory. The Soviet Union will continue to do everything possible for approximating this victory of the Arab countries.

We see that you combine important successes in national economic development with positive socio-economic and political transformations, the head of the Soviet delegation continued. Progressive legislation on social security, the agrarian reform, the implementation of the measures envisaged in the declaration of March 11, 1970 on peaceful democratic settlement of the Kurdish problem and the drafting of the national action charter which provides for setting up a front of the progressive forces of the country, all this creates a good foundation for advance along the road of national and social progress.

In the struggle against Israeli aggression the peoples of the Arab countries had to pass through grim tests. Israel continues occupying part of Arab territories. But can the imperialists say to day that they have achieved their major aims by unleashing aggression against the Arab peoples five years ago? Facts show that they have not achieved their goals.

The Arabs have not been forced to their knees, but only their will to struggle has been strengthened. The Arabs have not grown weaker, they have gained in strength militarily, economically and morally.

The national-liberation movement in the Middle East is not abating, it is on an upgrade.

The Arab peoples' friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries, with the progressive forces of all the world have become still further consolidated and are now playing an increasing role in rebuffing the aggression, in the struggle for the elimination of its consequences, for a settlement of the Mideast crisis.

The Arab countries are developing their national economy and culture and are strengthening their positions in the international arena.

And the Arabs' successes will be all the more impressive, their positions will be all the stronger, the closer is their unity in the struggle against the aggression, against the policy of imperialism, which was and continues to be profoundly hostile to the peoples of all the Arab countries, without exception. Any crack, however minute, in relations between the Arab countries is a find for their enemies, who are basing all their calculations on expectations that things will develop in the direction of deepening differences between the Arab countries.

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That is why we warmly welcome the important political steps taken by the governments of a number of Arab states, including the Government of the Republic of Iraq aimed at strengthening the unity of the Arab countries, at promoting cooperation among them in the struggle against imperialism, against the Israeli aggression.

On the side of the just cause of the Arab countries, the head of the Soviet delegation emphasised, is support from the socialist community of states, from many peace-loving countries, support from the progressive world public.

In his address to the 15th Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions, held in Moscow recently, L.I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party, declared that we would continue strengthening and developing relations with the progressive Arab states in the mutual interest of the peoples of our countries, for the sake of justice, for the sake of the freedom and progress of the Arab peoples, for the sake of a lasting peace in the Middle East.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government are consistently pursuing the Leninist foreign policy. This is a policy of rebuffing imperialism, supporting the liberation movement throughout the world, this is a policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Its concrete aims at the present stage were defined by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They are expressed in the foreign policy programme approved by the Congress, which is now widely known as the Soviet peace programme. It is for a year now that this programme has been actively and successfully translated into life by the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The most important aspect of the Soviet Union's foreign policy is our daily struggle for the elimination of seats of imperialist aggression, for the freedom of the peoples, for international security.

Being here, in North Hama, together with you today, on a red-letter day for the Iraqi people, A.N. Kosygin went on, we want to express our warm fraternal solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indochina defending their sacred right to independence, to a bright future, which they deserve as selfless fighters for the victory of the great cause of liberation of all the peoples of the world from imperialist interference in their sovereign affairs, from encroachments on their freedom and independence.

In conclusion, on behalf of the Party and Government delegation of the Soviet Union, A.N. Kosygin wished the workers

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of the oil fields of Northern Rumaila, all the Iraqi people the best of success in developing the country's national economy, improving the people's living standards, in building a new life, in rallying together all the patriotic and progressive forces of Iraq.

He hailed the friendship and fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Iraq.

A.N. Kosygin presented to Adnan Kassab a souvenir gift-- a porcelain vase showing views of Moscow. The head of the Government of the USSR congratulated the Soviet specialists on the successful completion of the development of oil fields and thanked them for their contribution to the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries.

Saddam Hussein and A.N. Kosygin cut the red ribbon and officially inaugurated the oil fields in Northern Rumaila.

At the meeting, commemoration medals were presented to a large group of Soviet specialists.

In the latter half of the day the Soviet Party and Government delegation returned to Baghdad.

(Pravda, April 8. Abridged.)

In a Spirit of Friendship and Cooperation

Baghdad, April 9, (TASS). The Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Iraq was signed at the Presidential Palace in Baghdad today.

On behalf of the Soviet Union the Treaty was signed by A.N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and on behalf of the Republic of Iraq by A.H. el-Bakr, President of the Republic of Iraq.

On the Soviet Side, the ceremony was attended by members of the Soviet Party and Government delegation.

On the Iraqi Side, it was attended by members of the Regional Leadership of the Party of Arab Socialist Awakening, and by members of the Government of Iraq. After the signing of the Treaty A.N. Kosygin and A.H. el-Bakr exchanged speeches.

Speech of A.N. Kosygin

Esteemed Comrade President Ahmed Hassan el-Bakr!

Dear friends!

Our countries have made a great and important step in the development of our relations: we have just signed the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Iraq.

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Treaties and agreements played various roles in the practices of international relations. History has seen some still-born treaties, and as a rule they were not worth much more than the paper on which they were written.

Diktat treaties were concluded, and these were chucked into the dust heap of history, as soon as nations acquired independence and a position of equality in the world. Yet, history has seen also international agreements of a different kind which reflect profound vital interests of countries that use these treaties to consolidate their friendly relations. Such treaties are a living source nutritive to the forces of peoples in their aspirations to progress and peace.

We have every reason to say that today Iraq and the Soviet Union concluded a treaty of precisely this kind, reflecting the vital interests of the Soviet and Iraqi peoples.

Our treaty was prepared by the favourable development of Soviet-Iraqi relations, it is based on the friendship between the peoples of our countries, a friendship which developed and grew stronger in the common struggle against the forces of imperialism and colonialism, for the strengthening of peace and security in the Middle East and the world over. It is based on concrete deeds, embodying Soviet-Iraqi friendship.

The experience of life of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Iraq convincingly shows that the strengthening of the ties between the two countries thoroughly conforms to their vital interests, hence the reciprocal aspirations, expressed in the policies of the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of the Republic of Iraq, toward extending still more our cooperation and making it more active and fruitful.

The Soviet-Iraqi treaty will promote the implementation of these aspirations. It envisages close cooperation of the Sides politically, economically, culturally, and otherwise. At the same time the treaty is based on the principles of reciprocal respect for the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the two Sides, non-interference in each other's domestic affairs, equality and mutual profit. It is aimed at being an effective instrument in establishing favourable conditions for coordination of our efforts in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for achievement of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, for relaxation of international tensions. Political consultations will be an effective means for the coordination of our foreign policy steps and stands.

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Having signed this treaty today, we expressed the will of the peoples of the USSR and Iraq to close cooperation in providing the conditions for preserving and further developing their socio-economic gains. Our treaty shows that Soviet-Iraqi friendly bonds are not of a time-serving, but rather of a stable nature.

At the same time this treaty is not aimed against some third countries, and does not infringe upon anyone's lawful interests. On the contrary, it is our deep conviction that it conforms to the interests of extensive international cooperation, including the cooperation of the Soviet Union and Iraq with other Arab countries. Concluding this treaty, we proceed from the premise that the strengthening of the cohesion of peace-loving and progressive forces, and, in their ranks, of progressive Arab states, on an anti-imperialist foundation, serves the cause of peace and elimination of the aftermath of Israeli aggression.

We would like to express our feelings of confidence that all the forces of peace and progress will meet this treaty with approval, as an important historic event in the development of relations between the Soviet and Iraqi peoples, as a positive contribution to the strengthening of cooperation between the socialist states and progressive Arab countries.

Availing ourselves of this important opportunity, we would like to express once again our thanks to President el-Bakr, Deputy Chairman Saddam Hussein, and other members of the State and Party Leadership for the invitation to the Soviet Party and Government delegation to visit Iraq. Our delegation is deeply satisfied with the fact that it could participate, together with our Iraqi friends and comrades, in the celebrations on the occasion of the establishment of the foundation of the national oil enterprise of Iraq as well as on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party. We would like to wish you further success, cohesion of all the progressive patriotic forces of the country in the interests of implementation of progressive socio-economic changes and anti-imperialist foreign policies.

In conclusion I would like to say: Let the friendship between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Iraq flourish and grow stronger for the sake of peace, liberty, and progress!

(Pravda, April 10. Abridged.)



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

Telephone 01- 930 8440 ext 543

M J Robinson Esq
MOSCOW

Your reference

Our reference NBR 3/303/1

Date 20 April 1972

Dear Robinson.

KOSYGIN'S VISIT TO IRAQ

1. Thank you for your letter 3/7 of 14 April addressed to Kay (who is in Near East and North African Department). You will by now have seen the assessment of the Iraq/Soviet Treaty which was prepared here.
2. I am copying your letter to Chancery, Tehran for information, as well as to IRD, PUSD, and Research Department within the office. In view of the close interest which the Iranians are taking in Soviet activities in the Middle East you may like to keep our Embassy in Tehran in mind when reporting on this subject.

Yours ever,

D G Allen

D G Allen
Middle East Department

Copies to: IRD
PUSD
Res D (Soviet Section)
Tehran

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24/4/72

TO PRIORITY FCO TELNO 339 21 APRIL INFO ROUTINE ABU DUBAI,
DUBAI, WASHINGTON, KUWAIT, BAHRAIN AND JEDDA.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 35 24 APR 1972 NBR 3/303/1
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(25)
ABU DHABI TEL NO 223: IRAQI/SOVIET TREATY AND THE UAE.

1. DURING MY CONVERSATION YESTERDAY WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE IRAQI/SOVIET TREATY (MY TELEGRAM NO. 338), KHALATBARI AGAIN EMPHASISED IRAN'S CONCERN THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD BE SEEKING, THROUGH THEIR NEW POSITION IN IRAQ, TO EXTEND THEIR INFLUENCE INTO THE PERSIAN GULF. WHILE HE ACCEPTED OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES LIKELY TO FLOW FROM THE IRAQI/SOVIET TREATY (PARA 2 OF YOUR TELEGRAM NO 228) AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT WISH TO ENCOURAGE AND IRAQ-IRAN CONFLICT, HE CONSIDERED THAT THE IRAQIS WOULD NOW HAVE NEW OPPORTUNITIES TO CAUSE TROUBLE FOR WESTERN AND IRANIAN INTERESTS IN THE GULF, WHICH THE RUSSIANS WOULD SEE NO REASON TO PREVENT. INDEED THEY MIGHT ENCOURAGE THIS.

2. IT WAS THEREFORE ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT FOR IRAN TO HAVE STABLE AND FRIENDLY ARAB REGIMES ALONG THE GULF COAST. BUT THIS SEEMED IMPOSSIBLE WITH THE UAE SO LONG AS ZAID WAS PRESIDENT. IT WAS REALLY NO LONGER NECESSARY TO THINK OF TRYING FIRST TO ESTABLISH SOME DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE IN HIM (PARA 2 OF MY TELEGRAM NO. 293). ZAID HAD MADE NO REAL ATTEMPT TO MAKE AMENDS, AND WAS COMPLETELY UNRELIABLE. WE SHOULD REALLY BE THINKING OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF NEUTRALISING HIM OR EVEN FINDING A SUBSTITUTE. NEVERTHELESS, IF ZAID WERE NOW TO SEND, SAY, ZAKI, TO PROPOSE AN EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS, THIS MIGHT BE USEFUL.

3. I SAID I HAD NOT HEARD FURTHER ABOUT THIS BUT WOULD ENQUIRE.

RAMSBOTHAM.

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

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34

BRITISH EMBASSY
MOSCOW

3/6

21 April 1972

24/4

J C Kay Esq
Middle East Department
FCO

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 35 25 APR 1972 NBR 3/303/1
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*M. Hulce (6050)
M. Allen*

Dear Kay,

*I do not think this letter needs
any reply — but I do not see
why the Russians should be
sensitive to Western reactions (unless Western =
Iranian?)*

PRESS COMMENT ON SOVIET/IRAQI TREATY

Comment on the Soviet/Iraqi treaty has been notably lacking in contrast to the comment which followed the signature of the Egyptian treaty in May 1971. As reported in my letter 3/7 of 14 April the only obvious follow-up article on the treaty, which appeared in Izvestia on 12 April, emphasised only the general implications of the treaty for Soviet-Arab co-operation and friendship. Apart from this article, the regular Sunday "International Round-up" in Pravda on 16 April devoted a short paragraph to the subject. The writer described the treaty as a "further effective instrument" in the struggle against imperialism for a firm and just peace in the Middle East and went on to describe such evidence of growing friendship between the progressive Arab states and the Soviet Union and Socialist countries as a "sobering" counter-measure to Israeli and imperialist aggression.

2. The most startling statement however was a reported quotation from the Hindustan Times calling the treaty "a new success of Soviet diplomacy and a further step towards the creation of a system of collective security in Asia." The latter statement is particularly surprising (though it is worth noting that Brezhnev at the Trade Union Congress recently described Turkey as an Asian state). I suspect that the writer had been scraping around for some conveniently favourable comment from a non-communist country and this was the best he could find.

3. Be that as it may, the signs point clearly to Soviet sensitivity about western reactions to their treaty and suggest that, in the press at least, they have decided to lie low.

*Yours sincerely
Michael Robinson.
(M J Robinson)*

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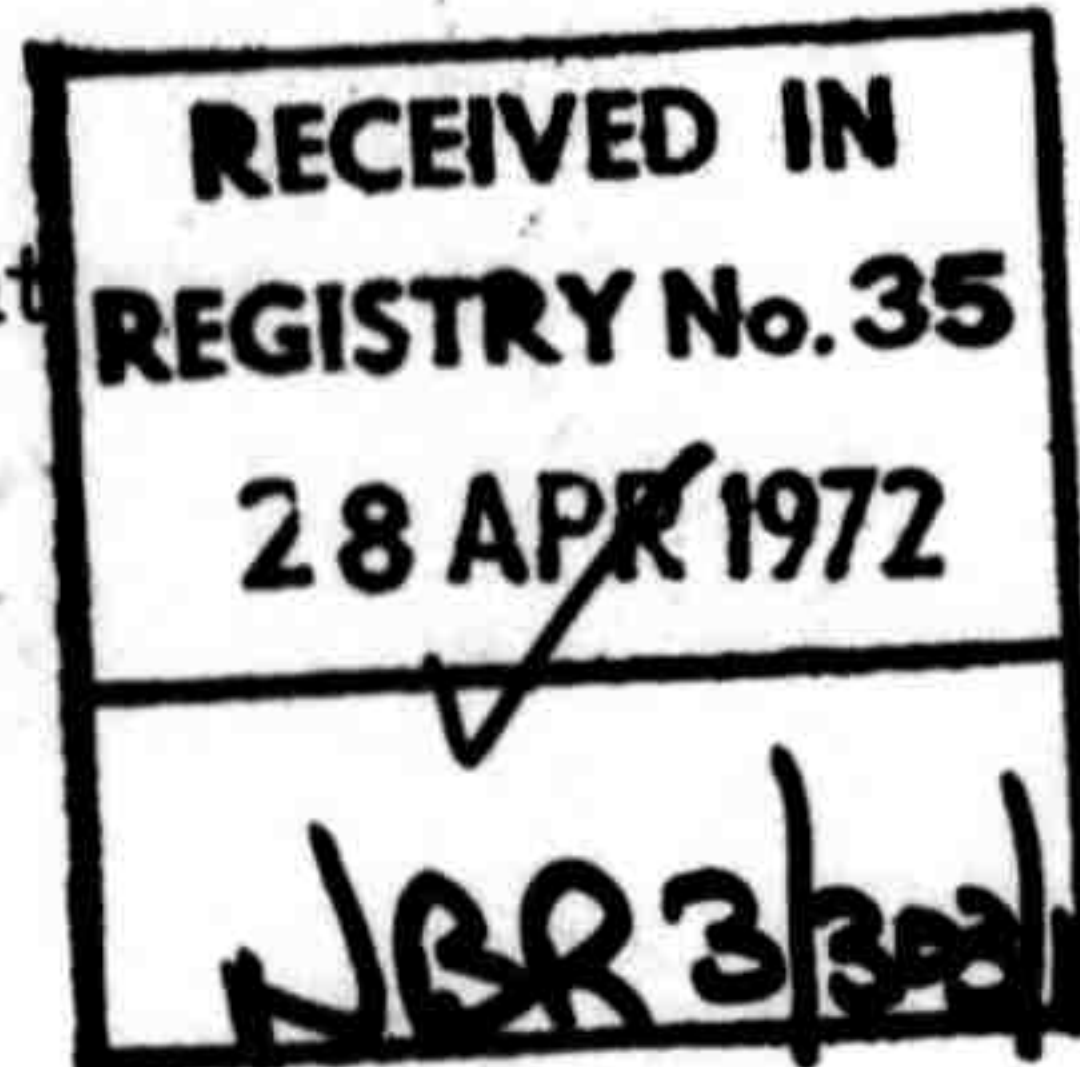


UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION TO NATO

1110 BRUSSELS

26 April 1972

D G Allen Esq
Middle Eastern Department
FCO



27/4
✓ Smith
✓ L dk. reply to

Dear Mr Allen,

SOVIET-IRAQI TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP

1. This subject was raised on instructions by the Canadian representative at today's meeting of the Political Committee. Roy said that the Canadian Embassy in Moscow had reported that, although there were some notable differences, this Treaty was in its view based on the Soviet-Egyptian Treaty. He thought it would be useful to know whether other NATO members agreed and has proposed that the Committee should compare notes on reports received from Missions in Baghdad.
2. Since we are now supposed to be discussing this next Tuesday, we would be grateful to know if there are any particular points which you would like us to make on this subject.

Yours sincerely
A M Gillon
A M Gillon (Mrs)

cc:

B J P Fall Esq
EESD, FCO

see (26) pad

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

Telephone 01- 930 8440 ext 518

Mrs A M Gillon
UK Delegation - NATO
Brussels

Your reference

Our reference NBR 3/303/1

Date 28 April 1972

Dear Mrs. Gillon,

IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY

(35)

1. Thank you for your letter of 26 April.
2. We have already had visits from the Dutch, French, Belgians, Germans and Italians, all eager to discuss the Treaty with us.
3. Since Iraq broke off diplomatic relations with us last December we no longer of course receive political reports from Baghdad and are not therefore able to contribute any "on-the-spot" comments for your discussion next Tuesday. Our general assessment however is that the Treaty is an important step in Soviet efforts to strengthen and extend their influence in the Middle East and to re-insure with Arab states against any possibility of a deterioration in Soviet Egyptian relations. Iraq provides an entrée for Soviet influence in the Persian Gulf and an opportunity to encourage Arab states to use their oil wealth as a lever against the West. On the debit side it means a deeper Soviet involvement in an inherently unstable area and will certainly alarm the Shah. But the Soviet Union will probably do its best to minimise any consequent risk to its important relationship with Iran.
4. The Iraqis for their part have gained formal confirmation of Russian support in the military and economic fields and assistance over the development of their oil resources. No doubt they will also hope to engage the Soviet Union on their side, particularly in the Gulf, though it is unlikely that the Russians will risk damaging their relations with Iran or their budding relations with the Gulf states.
5. I enclose the draft of a piece on the Treaty for the April issue of "Communist Policy and Tactics" and a detailed comparison of the Egyptian, Indian and Iraqi Treaties. You may draw freely on both these and of course on the summary assessment in paragraphs 3 and 4 above.

/6. We

1 *phd/4*

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6. We should of course be interested in the gist of comments which your NATO colleagues make at next week's meeting.

Yours sincerely,

D G Allen

D G Allen
Middle East Department

ENCS

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SECRET

Mr. ~~Parsons~~

agree

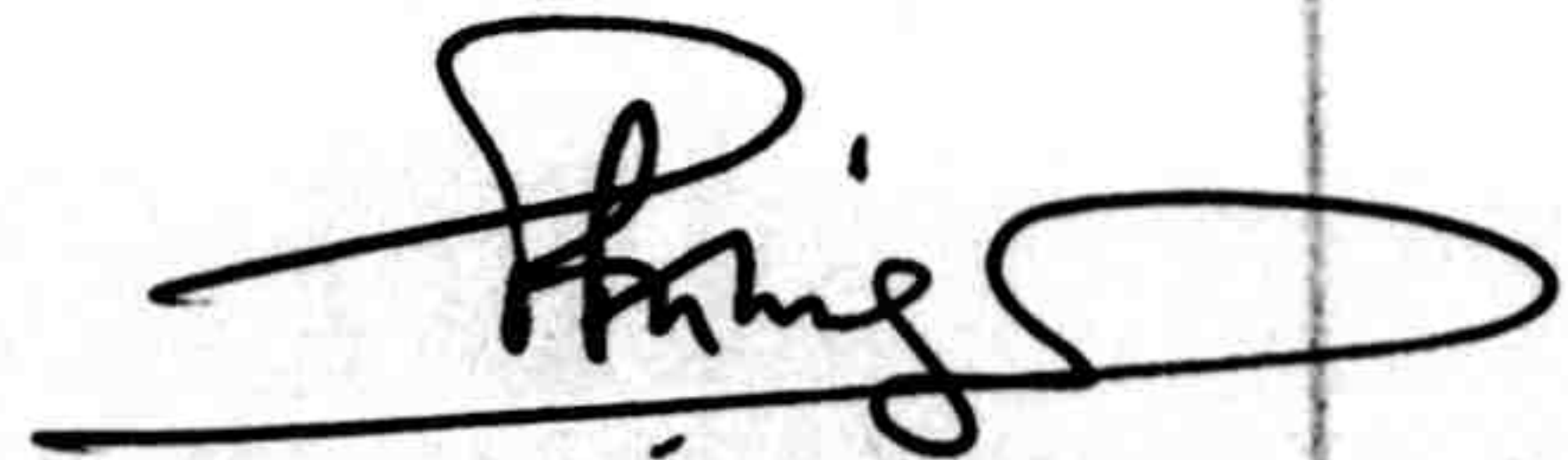
Mr. AUG 27/4
Mr. S. H. 48/4
p=

Attached to 27/4

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 35
28 APR 1972

NBR 3/302

1. In paragraph 6 of his minute of 24 April Mr. Craig asks whether, in view of the frailty of the Iraqi régime, the Russians are not welcome to try their hand in Iraq.
2. There have been several signs of possible misgivings on the part of the Russians over their new relationship with the Iraqis, at least over the signature of the new treaty. On balance, I think Mr. Craig is probably right in seeing more bricks than ha'pence in it for the Russians. Certainly, the Iraqis seem to have made most of the running and I think there is no doubt that the signature of the treaty will have given the Ba'ath both confidence (vide their recent propaganda over their clashes with Iran) and prestige.
3. For the last reason stated above, I think it may be over-sanguine to describe the Iraqi régime as "frail". There are no obvious signs at present of any realistic internal threats to it.



P R H Wright

Middle East Department

26 April 1972

Copies to: Mr. Craig, NENAD

Mr. Cradock, Assessment Staff

SECRET

S E C R E T

minute of 15/4
Mr. Allen } Any 135 ~
Mr. Smith } 56 ?
and
Pha 24/4

Mr Parsons

cc Mr Wright, MED
Mr Cradock, Assessment Staff

1. In your reply to Mr Le Quesne's minute you say: "Whatever the motives of the super powers may be ... we are all agreed that the Russians are making a renewed drive for increased influence ...". This suggests that the fact of the Soviet diplomatic offensive is the important thing and that the motive for it is of secondary concern. I wonder if this is not, or does not, produce too gloomy a view.
2. As I look around the countries of my North African parish, the picture is, in terms of the East-West conflict, more encouraging for us and more discouraging for the Russians than it was a year ago, with perhaps one exception - and that a not very serious one. Morocco and Tunis are still firmly in the western camp. The Sudan has virtually abandoned, with some bitterness, its flirtation with the Soviet bloc. There is increasing trouble between Egypt and the Soviet Union (Sadat's repeated defence of the Russians from popular criticism in his speeches is only the most recent evidence). Algeria is drawing perceptibly closer to Western Europe and even to the USA. Only in Libya has there been - perhaps - a gain for the Soviet Union in Jalud's visit to Moscow; and even there Qadhafi's continued anti-communist line provides a good measure of reassurance.

/3.

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

3. If one moves from foreign policy to the domestic economy, one finds further grounds for optimism. In the Sudan and, especially, in Egypt the Government is trying to move away from centralised socialist systems towards the encouragement of private enterprise and foreign capital investment (eg tax holidays, investment guarantees, Industrial Bank, renewed relations with the IBRD). Even in Algeria - and I do not make too much of this - a place has been allocated to the private sector and a special relationship with the EEC has been requested. No doubt the reasons are practical rather than philosophical: the Soviet system has been tried and found unsuitable, however desirable it may be to many Arabs on grounds of theory. But the result is the same - an increasing distance between the Soviet bloc and the Arab countries of North Africa in both foreign and domestic policy.

4. As for the Arab countries which have just been added to my parish, I take it we have no cause for anxiety over Soviet strength in Jordan or the Lebanon. In Syria there has certainly been a Soviet offensive which we are right to worry about. But the general attitude of the Asad regime is surely more reasonable, more flexible and more mature than its predecessor.. The Egyptians appear to think so, at any rate.

5. I am not competent to discuss Russian advances in the Gulf. But I should have thought that, given the residue of our strength in the area, they have a long way to go yet, Where among the regimes of the Gulf do they have anyone remotely friendly? And their need to avoid antagonising the Shah surely inhibits

/too forward

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

too forward a policy.

6. Only in Iraq do they seem to have made substantial progress; and there, given the universal contempt in which the regime is held and (is this right?) its frailty, surely they are welcome to try their hand? They are likely to get more bricks than ha'pence.

7. If all this were true - and, as you say, there is plenty of room for argument - then the renewed Russian drive would be defensive, rather than offensive.

24 April 1972

A J M Craig
Near East and North Africa
Department

S E C R E T

PRIORITY

EN CLAIR

MED
~~NEA Adept~~

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TO PRIORITY F.C.O. TELNO...509 OF 10TH APRIL 1972.

INFO TO PRIORITY CAIRO, BEIRUT, BAGHDAD, TEL AVIV AND AMMAN.
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*I hope we can brand this
as the Second Baghdad Pact. (could I RD
not do something by way of comparing the
relevant clauses with the Baghdad
Treaty which the Iraqis rejected -
or the BB
AN Conch
11 4.*

KOSYGIN'S VISIT TO IRAQ.

FOLLOWING IS TASS TRANSLATION OF SOVIET/IRAQI TREATY OF
FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION PUBLISHED IN TODAY'S "PRAVDA" :

BEGINS :

"THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE IRAQI REPUBLIC"
FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDSHIP
AND ALL-ROUND COOPERATION BETWEEN THEM ACCORDS WITH THE NATIONAL
INTERESTS OF BOTH STATES. SERVES THE CAUSE OF PEACE IN THE
WHOLE WORLD AND IN THE AREA OF ARAB COUNTRIES. THE INTERESTS
OF THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLES. THEIR SECURITY AND RESPECT OF
SOVEREIGNTY :

BELIEVING THAT THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COHESION OF ALL
FORCES OF PEACE AND PROGRESS, INCLUDING THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE
UNITY OF ARAB STATES, ON AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST BASIS IS AN
IMPORTANT MEANS OF STRUGGLE FOR LASTING PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY :

INSPIRED BY IDEALS OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM,
COLONIALISM, ZIONISM AND REACTION, FOR THE FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE
AND SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLES :

CONVINCED THAT IN THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD INTERNATIONAL
PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY WAY OF COOPERATION AND THE SEARCH
FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS:

CONFIRMING THEIR PEACE-LOVING FOREIGN POLICY AND LOYALTY
TO THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS
ORGANIZATION :

WISHING TO DEVELOP AND STRENGTHEN THE EXISTING RELATIONS
OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST, STRIVING TO RAISE

/THESE

THESE RELATIONS TO A NEW, EVEN HIGHER LEVEL, HAVE DECIDED TO CONCLUDE THE PRESENT TREATY AND AGREED ON THE FOLLOWING :

ARTICLE 1. THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DECLARE THAT INVIOABLE FRIENDSHIP WILL EXIST BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THEIR PEOPLES AND ALL-ROUND COOPERATION WILL DEVELOP IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, TRADE, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL, CULTURAL AND OTHER FIELDS ON THE BASIS OF RESPECT FOR STATE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTERGRITY AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHER'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

ARTICLE 2. THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE IRAQI REPUBLIC DECLARE THAT THEY WILL CLOSELY AND COMPREHENSIVELY COOPERATE IN ENSURING CONDITIONS FOR PRESERVING AND FURTHER DEVELOPING THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GAINS OF THEIR PEOPLES AND RESPECT FOR THE SOVEREIGNTY OF EACH OF THEM OVER ALL THEIR NATURAL RESOURCES.

ARTICLE 3. THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, CONSISTENTLY PURSUING THE POLICY OF THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE OF STATES WITH DIFFERENT COICIAL SYSTEMS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR PEACE-LOVING FOREIGN POLICY WILL FURTHER COME OUT FOR PEACE IN THE WHOLE WORLD, FOR AN EASING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS, FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, ENCOMPASSING BOTH NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL ARMS UNDER EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL.

ARTICLE 4. PROCEEDING FROM THE IDEALS OF FREEDOM AND THE EQUALITY OF ALL THE PEOPLES. THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES CONDEMN IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM IN ALL ITS FORMS AND MANIFESTATIONS, THEY WILL FURTHER CONDUCT AN UNDEVIATING STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM, FOR A FULL, FINAL AND UNCONDITIONAL LIQUIDATION OF COLONIALISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM, RACISM AND APARTHEID, COME OUT FOR THE SPEEDIESTFULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES. THE SIDES WILL COOPERATE WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH OTHER PEACE LOVING STATES IN SUPPORTING THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLES FOR THEIR SOVEREIGNTY, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

ARTICLE 5. ATTACHING MUCH IMPORTANCE TO ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THEM, THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL FURTHER EXPAND AND DEEPEN THIS COOPERATION AND EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE IN INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE, IRRIGATION AND WATER CONSERVANCY, IN THE WORKING OF OIL AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES, IN THE FIELD OF COMMUNICATIONS AND IN OTHER BRANCHES OF THE ECONOMY AS WELL AS IN THE TRAINING OF NATIONAL CADRES.

/THE SIDES

THE SIDES WILL EXPAND TRADE AND SHIPPING BETWEEN THE TWO STATES ON THE BASIS OF PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, MUTUAL ADVANTAGE AND MOST FAVOURED NATION TREATMENT.

ARTICLE 6. THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL FACILITATE A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TIES AND CONTACTS BETWEEN THEM IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE, ART, LITERATURE, EDUCATION, PUBLIC HEALTH, PRESS, RADIO, CINEMATOGRAPHY, TELEVISION, TOURISM, SPORT AND IN OTHER FIELDS. WITH THE AIM OF SECURING A FULLER MUTUAL ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE LIFE, LABOUR AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLES OF BOTH COUNTRIES IN VARIOUS FIELDS THE SIDES WILL FACILITATE AN EXPANSION OF COOPERATION AND DIRECT TIES BETWEEN STATE BODIES AND PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS, ENTERPRISES, CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS OF BOTH STATES.

ARTICLE 7. ATTACHING MUCH IMPORTANCE TO CONCERTED ACTIONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE IN THE INTERESTS OF ENSURING PEACE AND SECURITY AND ALSO TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND IRAQ, THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL REGULARLY CONSULT EACH OTHER AT VARIOUS LEVELS ON ALL IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE INTERESTS OF BOTH STATES, AS WELL AS ON QUESTIONS OF FURTHER DEVELOPING BILATERAL RELATIONS.

ARTICLE 8. IN THE EVENT OF SITUATIONS ARISING WHICH THREATEN THE PEACE OF EITHER OF THE SIDES OR CREATE A THREAT TO PEACE OR VIOLATE PEACE, THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL IMMEDIATELY CONTACT EACH OTHER WITH THE AIM OF COORDINATING THEIR POSITIONS IN THE INTERESTS OF REMOVING THE THREAT OR RESTORING PEACE.

ARTICLE 9. IN THE INTERESTS OF THE SECURITY OF BOTH COUNTRIES THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES WILL CONTINUE TO DEVELOP COOPERATION IN THE STRENGTHENING OF THEIR DEFENCE CAPABILITIES.

ARTICLE 10. EACH OF THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DECLARES THAT IT WILL NOT ENTER ALLIANCES OR TAKE PART IN JIPUUTREGUD' 9% '5-53', AS WELL AS IN ACTIONS OR UNDERTAKINGS DIRECTED AGAINST THE OTHER HIGH CONTRACTING PARTY. EACH OF THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES UNDERTAKES NOT TO PERMIT THE USE OF ITS TERRITORY FOR ANY ACT CAPABLE OF INFLECTING MILITARY DAMAGE TO THE OTHER SIDE.

ARTICLE 11. THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DECLARE THAT THEIR COMMITMENTS UNDER EXISTING INTERNATIONAL TREATIES ARE NOT IN CONTRADICTION WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE PRESENT TREATY AND UNDERTAKE NOT TO CONCLUDE ANY INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS INCOMPATIBLE WITH IT.

/ARTICLE 12.

ARTICLE 12. THE PRESENT TREATY IS CONCLUDED FOR A PERIOD OF 15 YEARS AND WILL BE AUTOMATICALLY PROLONGED FOR EACH SUBSEQUENT FIVE-YEAR PERIOD IF ANY OF THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES DOES NOT REPORT NOT EXPRESS ITS DESIRE TO TERMINATE ITS ACTION, INFORMING THE OTHER HIGH CONTRACTING PARTY TWELVE MONTHS BEFORE THE EXPIRATION OF THE TREATY.

ARTICLE 13. ANY DIFFERENCES THAT MAY ARISE BETWEEN THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES CONCERNING THE INTERPRETATION OF SOME PROVISION OF THE PRESENT TREATY WILL BE RESOLVED BILATERALLY IN A SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP, MUTUAL RESPECT AND UNDERSTANDING.

ARTICLE 14. THE PRESENT TREATY IS SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION AND WILL ENTER INTO FORCE ON THE DAY OF THE EXCHANGE OF INSTRUMENTS OF RATIFICATION, WHICH WILL BE EFFECTED IN MOSCOW IN THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE PERIOD OF TIME. THE PRESENT TREATY IS DONE IN TWO COPIES, EACH IN RUSSIAN AND ARABIC, BOTH TEXTS BEING OF EQUAL AUTHENTICITY. DONE IN BAGHDAD ON APRIL 9, 1972.. THIS ACCORDING WITH THE 25TH SAFAR, THE 1392 YEAR OF THE HIJRA.

FOR THE UNION OF SOVIET
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

FOR THE IRAQI REPUBLIC

A.KOSYGIN

A.H. AL-BAKR

ENDS.

KILLICK

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14 APRIL 1972

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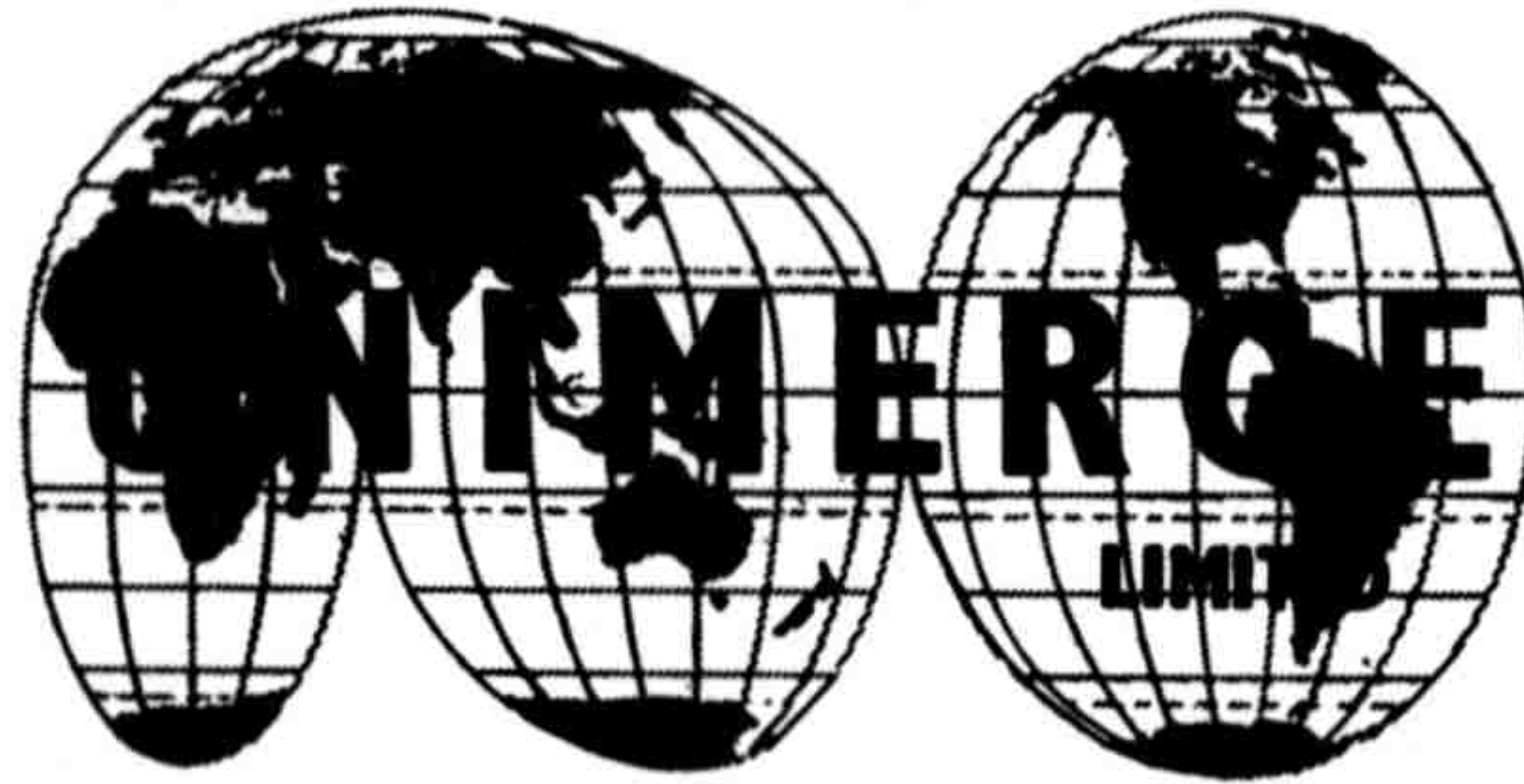
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RUSSIAN GRIP ON ARAB OIL



**BIRTH OF
A NEW
BAGHDAD PACT**

page four



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THE NEW MOOD OF REMEMBRANCE

Except in Israel and among Jewish communities abroad, the systematic murder of millions of civilians less than thirty years ago is not marked by a special day of remembrance. For the present generation, the atrocities of the Nazi regime often merge into the general recollections—or forgetfulness—of the Second World War.

Yet this week, both in Israel and abroad, the Holocaust Day was marked with more intensity than in many previous years. This is not because new revelations have suddenly come to light about the fate of Jews and other victims of the Nazi nightmare. It is, at least in part, an instinctive Jewish reaction to the mood of the present day.

In traditionally democratic societies, there is a general intolerance in the air, which minorities like the Jews are the first to perceive. It has become fashionable—even among intellectuals and students—to challenge the established order through violence and subversion. There is a resurgence of nationalism and chauvinism of the most dangerous kind. In Italy, for example, naked fascism is again becoming respectable.

As the guilty shock of the Holocaust wears off, anti-semitism too is becoming more bold and open. In Riga, Soviet police this week arrested two Jews who merely wanted to pray for their butchered brethren. In Washington, a prominent churchman chose Palm Sunday to stoke old hatreds of the Jewish people as "the killers of Christ".

This resurgence of hatred—not only against Jews—explains why this year's remembrance contains bitter anger as well as sorrow. At the Holocaust meeting in London on Sunday, a speaker insisted that those Nazi murderers who are still uncaught must be tried and punished. The same sentiment was expressed in Israel by the Deputy Premier.

However, this anger is not only a reflex against renewed anti-semitism. Thanks to the existence of Israel, most Jewish communities feel more secure than ever from the kind of treatment they suffered in the past. Their anger is an expression of protest about the erosion of democratic values in all countries. That is why, even though Holocaust Day is not observed by humanity at large, its relevance is universal.

RUSSIA'S MIDDLE EAST BREAKTHROUGH

The Soviet Union's conclusion of a 15 year treaty with Iraq opens up a new chapter in the history of the Middle East. In some ways, it is an even greater achievement for Moscow than the similar treaty signed a year ago with Egypt. Soviet control of Egypt was already assured. However, Iraq has traditionally been a much more difficult country to rule from inside and to influence from outside.

But the real measure of Soviet success is not merely in relation to the other great powers, with whom it vies for influence in the oil regions, but in relationship to the countries of the Middle East themselves. Under the reign of President Nasser, Egypt always attempted to be the main political force in the region. From the Atlantic to the Gulf, Nasser wanted to be the local man with whom all Big Powers would have to reckon.

This was largely his reason for carrying on a vendetta against the old Baghdad Pact. It was also the reason for his incessant campaign for Arab unity and, to a large extent, was the main motive for his

involvement in the Palestine question. But today Nasser is no more, and with Sinai firmly controlled by Israel, Egypt cannot command the same prestige. Nasser before 1967 would have resisted a bilateral alliance between the Soviet Union and Iraq to the bitter end. But his successor is too weak even to protest.

Thus the Russians have not only expelled western influence from the flanks of the Arab world. With the signature of the new Baghdad Pact they have conclusively replaced it by their own. Yet the Middle East is not a static area. Outflanked on the Nile and on the Euphrates, the West can still under-write its interests by supporting a strong Israel.

Although a formal peace is still not visible, Israel and Jordan, together with democratic Lebanon, are already an important nucleus of Western pressure on the Arabian region. If they are further strengthened and unified, they can halt any further Soviet pincer movement based on Egypt and Iraq. These are the real battle lines in the new Middle East.

THE MIDDLE EAST IS RED

RUSSIA AND IRAQ SIGN 15 YEAR BAGHDAD PACT

from our Middle East correspondent

The Soviet Union now bestrides the Arab world like a colossus, with one giant foot planted in Cairo and the other in Baghdad. This is the revolutionary situation which follows Sunday's signing of a 15 year Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and Iraq.

As well as dominating the Nile Valley, the Soviet Union now has a commanding position on the Persian Gulf, too. Not only has it secured a stake in the exploitation and transportation of Iraqi oil, but it has secured a base for Soviet naval movements throughout the Indian Ocean.

The pact was signed in Baghdad on Sunday by Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin and Iraqi President Ahmed Hassan el-Bakr. It provides for Soviet military aid to Iraq, constant high-level consultations and promotion of relations, particularly in the political, oil and trade spheres. The two countries guaranteed not to join opposition pacts nor to allow their land to be used for activities which could harm the other militarily.

Consulting regularly: Article One said the Soviets and Iraqis declared "there will be between them a permanent and unbreakable friendship and comprehensive co-operation between their countries will grow in the political, economic, commercial, technical, scientific, cultural and other fields". It added: "They will consult regularly and on all levels concerning the important international questions that affect the two countries."

On foreign policy, the treaty is a compromise. Both sides condemn Zionism but agree that in the modern era international conflicts should be settled in a spirit of conciliation. The Russians also subscribed to the principle of Arab unity, so dear to Iraq's ruling Baath Party, but only as an instrument in "the anti-imperialist struggle", against Zionism and to promote national independence.

In the oil sphere the treaty is even more significant than that signed with Egypt. Article Two promises to defend "the economic and social victories of Iraq", notably in the sphere



KOSYGIN IN BAGHDAD
Peaceful conquest

of natural resources. This gives the Soviet Union a clear protective status in relation to all Iraq's oil—and is a veiled threat to the remaining western oil interests in the country from whom Iraq earns £385 million a year.

No accident: In particular, it is aimed at the Iraq Petroleum Company which, under Iraq's controversial Law 80, has been deprived of 98 per cent of its original exploration areas. It was no accident that the Treaty was initialled while Kosygin was in Iraq to inaugurate the exploitation of the very rich North Rumeilah oilfield.

The oilfield was seized from the Western-owned IPC in 1961 and is now being developed by Iraq's own National Oil Company with Soviet and East Bloc assistance to the tune of £80 million.

Not only is the field expected to produce as much as 80 million tons annually within seven years, but the Iraq Government has claimed that its proven reserves far exceed original estimates.

At Friday's opening ceremony, Kosygin declared that North Rumeilah was "the greatest project in Iraq and stands as the example of sincere co-operation between our two countries".

Into the Gulf: The military aspect of the Treaty was underlined by the arrival at the Port of Umm Qasr of a Soviet naval squadron. This is widely thought to herald the establishment of a Soviet naval base at the port, which will enhance the Soviet presence not only in the Gulf but throughout Arabia and the Indian Ocean. In the Gulf itself, the Soviet Union has established relations with the new Union of Arab Emirates. It already has a base at Aden.

The international significance of the Treaty is that it was signed just a month before President Nixon is due to arrive in Moscow for his global summit talks. When the US and Soviet leaders peruse the map of the world they will find that the Soviet Union is the over-lord of the Middle East.

The Treaty is also noteworthy because of the difficulties which have previously marked Soviet-Iraqi relations. Iraq has been one of the most unstable Arab States, and the Baath Party has fought a long bitter feud with both the Communists and the Kurdish peoples of the north. But, under Soviet prompting, the Baathists have softened their attitude to both Kurds and Communists and Kosygin was able to note with satisfaction Baghdad's promises to form a "national front".

Pact reversed: Historically, too, the Treaty is a mile-stone. It is Iraq's first pact with a Big Power since Kassem's regime pulled out of the Baghdad Pact in 1959.

The Baghdad Pact was the last of a whole series of defence treaties binding Iraq to Britain from 1922. Established in 1954 with encouragement of the United States, its members were Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. Its role was to act as a barrier along the Soviet Union's southern borders.

Not only has the barrier disintegrated, but the Soviet Union is now sinking its own imperial foundations in the Arab world, not through a regional alliance but through bilateral treaties with its client States.

CAIRO

SHUKEIRY REARS HIS HEAD AGAIN

UPHEAVAL AT PALESTINE CONFERENCE

from our Cairo correspondent

Slowly but surely, the Palestinian extremists are taking off their romantic guerilla uniforms and re-entering the world of smartly dressed propagandists. At this week's Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo, Fatah leader Yasser Arafat faced his first real challenge by Ahmed Shukeiry, the demagogic orator, whom he replaced four years ago as chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Shukeiry's star has been rising again ever since he led the defence in Cairo of the Palestinian assassins of Jordan Premier Wasfi Tal. The secret of his appeal is the fact that the terrorist organisations, led by Fatah, no longer have a viable military base. Instead of war communiqués, the Palestinians are falling back on the delights of propaganda and blood-curdling speeches.

At Friday's session in Cairo, Shukeiry won the day by calling on the whole Arab world to declare the United States "a real enemy of the Arabs", and to take practical steps to harm its interests in the Arab world.

Sadat's support: Shukeiry also has the benefit of being supported not so secretly by Egypt's President Sadat, who specialises in the same brand of raucous oratory. In his speech at the opening session, announcing Egypt's breach with Jordan, Sadat also called for a unification of the Palestinians' ranks. What he meant in practice emerged on Saturday morning in a plan for unifying the various military forces in one organisation called the Palestinian Revolution Forces.

This is a polite way of phasing out the terrorists and re-absorbing them under the old umbrella of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. It is anathema to Fatah leader Yasser Arafat. But Shukeiry, the natural spokesman of such an organisation, would stand to gain from it.



AHMED SHUKEIRY
Back by popular request

The rivalry between the two leaders led on Thursday to a fight involving 15 Fatah men during a meeting of the Arab Socialist Union. Egyptian police had to separate them.

Only consolation: The only matter on which all are united is the "treachery" of King Hussein in announcing his Palestine-Jordan plan. As well as the boycott of Jordan, their only consolation was President Sadat's assurance that they, the Palestinian National Congress, were the only true representatives of the Palestine people.

On Saturday, Dr. Fayez Sayegh, the Beirut-based propaganda specialist, proposed that this should be the starting point for an entire new strategy. The Arab countries should give contractual assurances that they will not recognise any measure in Palestine unless it is adopted by the Palestine people. Sayegh also proposed the setting up of a tribunal to try King Hussein.

All this is a very far cry from the popular war of liberation which the Palestinians declared, under Fatah's leadership, after the Six Day War. If Shukeiry and his politicians win the day, this may spell the final eclipse of al-Fatah.

As it is, some of the other terrorists have already opted out of the public arena. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by George Habbash, boycotted the conference, declaring that Egypt was "the capital of surrender". Also absent, of course, were any representatives of the real Palestinian people — in the West Bank or Jordan.

ALSO THIS WEEK ...

WHILE SOVIET Premier Kosygin was in Iraq, a Communist Chinese oil delegation visited neighbouring Iran for talks with the country's National Oil Company. Also visiting the Persian Gulf was French Minister of State Jean de Lipkowski. Speaking in Bahrein, he said French embassies are to open in Bahrein, Qatar and Abu Dhabi. Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein is shortly to visit Paris.

ISRAEL SEEMS none too pleased by statements of Rumania's President Ceausescu in Egypt. While stressing that they marked no change, Foreign Minister Eban said that Israel had been conducting a particularly intensive dialogue with Rumania. On the Uganda affair, Eban said President Amin had been affected by anti-semitic propaganda emanating from the Arab world. But there would be no change in Israel's African aid programmes. Kenya on Tuesday issued a strong denial of Ugandan claims that expelled Israeli experts were plotting against Uganda from Nairobi.

PREMIER GOLDA Meir told a UK television network that Israel is prepared to evacuate most of Sinai for a real and durable peace, but would not abandon Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, Gaza and Sharm el-Sheikh. From past experience, she said, Israel could not base its security on Arab signatures, but only on deterrent borders.

ON TUESDAY, France dropped its objections to Jerusalem Mayor Kollek attending a City of Paris exhibition in the Jerusalem Theatre. This followed protests to the Quai d'Orsay by French Senate President Alain Poher, now in Israel. On Monday, Kollek said the Exhibition would not take place unless he officially attended its opening (*background story on page 14*).

A WILDCAT strike for pay increases by maintenance staff grounded El Al flights from Lod on Monday and Tuesday, stranding thousands of departing pilgrims. Other airlines provided additional flights to take them out.

LEIB TREPPER has accused the French police of being "vile and petty" for not allowing his wife, Luba, a four-day entry visa to see her sons. Speaking in Warsaw, the former "Red Orchestra" spy chief threatened legal action following insinuations about his war-time role. On Monday, Mrs. Trepper flew instead to Denmark.

HORST BRASCH, a Jew, is to represent East Germany later this month at Syria's celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Arab Baath party.

ISRAEL ARMY girls can now wear non-regulation under-wear on duty, to be bought out of a new £5 allowance.

SPOTLIGHT

REMEMBER BOURGUIBA

THE MORE I consider King Hussein's recent initiative the more I am reminded of a similar initiative by another Arab leader seven years ago. It was in March 1965 that Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba shocked the Arab world by suggesting that the Arab leaders should offer to negotiate with Israel on the basis of the 1947 partition resolution. Since the 1947 lines were now impossible for Israel to contemplate, Bourguiba's proposals were less a serious attempt to make peace than a challenge to the supremacy of Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser who was proclaiming that war with Israel was inevitable and was asserting his domination over other Arab States in a series of summit meetings.

PLAYING TO THE GALLERY

Hussein, too, seems to have deliberately pitched his demands too high for Israel to accept — particularly over Jerusalem. Like Bourguiba, the King is cocking a snook at Egypt. Tunisia's defiance led to her separation from the Arab League until after the Six Day War. Jordan has also incurred the wrath of Egypt which has suspended diplomatic relations with her. Like Bourguiba, Hussein has offered a prospect of an Arab Palestine only to be assailed most bitterly by the Palestinians themselves.

The difference, of course, is that whereas Tunisia was only on the margin of the Palestine conflict, Jordan is at its very core. Does Hussein's defiance, therefore, foreshadow a formal peace with Israel? In the present mood of the Arab world, this appears to be out of the question. In his famous federation speech, Hussein cast himself in a posture of Arab defiance and resistance to Israel. Why give up the glory of Arab rhetoric for the ignominy of sitting down with the Zionists? In Arab eyes, to do so would shatter his *raison d'être* as an Arab leader.



POSTER ON A KUWAITI WALL
Split personality

Bourguiba knew that well enough. That is why in public he went no further in his relations with Israel than to make a slightly adventurous speech. How far will Hussein go?

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

NOBODY SHOULD BE surprised that the Soviet Union should have signed a 15 year treaty of friendship with an Iraqi regime which has specialised in killing communists. The Soviet Union has rarely, if ever, cared about the fate of communists in Islamic countries, except where the Soviet Union's direct interests were involved. Nevertheless, before he could sign the treaty with Iraq on

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Israel Ambassador and Madame Comay cordially invite all Israel Nationals and all well wishers to an Open House at the Embassy, 2, Palace Green, W.8. on Wednesday, April 19 from 11 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. to celebrate the Twenty Fourth Anniversary of Israel's Independence.

Sunday, Kosygin said he was satisfied to note that the Baathist rulers had drawn up a charter for national action together with communists and other progressive Iraqi forces. But it was only a face saver.

Up till only a few months ago militant communists were still being thrown into Baghdad's notorious Kasr al-Nihaya, the Palace of Annihilation. A few of them, it is true, were released on the eve of Kosygin's visit, and he even had a private interview with some of them. But the fact is that the Russians feel much more secure co-operating with a regime which represses any revolutionary elements with the same ruthlessness as that meted out to dissidents in the USSR.

In case anybody should think the ruling Baathists in Baghdad have changed their style, the recent death of Fuad Rikabi, one of the Baath party's own founders, is a grim reminder. The regime claims that he had his throat cut by a convicted non-political criminal. It did not explain why the two should have been in the same cell. One brighter aspect of the Iraqi scene is that all but the very hard core of the country's Jewish community (about 200 souls) have now emigrated. So the Baghdad rulers can hardly reproach Kosygin on Jewish emigration from the USSR.

LIBYA'S "JEWISH PRESIDENT"

LIBYA'S PRESIDENT Muammar al-Kadhafi is unlikely to be pleased by the report from Israel that he is the son of a Jewish woman from Benghazi and has relatives in Israel. Sunday's *Ma'ariv* quotes former Libyan Jews as saying Kadhafi's mother's family name was Lingi and that she converted to Islam in the 1940's when she married a Cyrenaica desert tribesman. When I was in Benghazi a few years ago, the most common expression of street abuse was *inteyehudi gah'ba* — "you are a Jewish prostitute". Kadhafi's mother may be a very respectable woman, but his enemies are unlikely to observe the laws of slander. According to Jewish law, of course, the son of a Jewish mother, Kadhafi is also a Jew. But according to Islam, he is a Moslem by virtue of his father's faith alone.

ARABS

EGYPT'S MOMENT OF DESPAIR

BREACH WITH JORDAN CANNOT SUCCEED

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem:

Egypt's gesture last week in breaking off diplomatic relations with Jordan and pushing other Arab States into a similar course of action is less a reflection on Jordan than on Egypt itself. In the speech by Sadat to the Palestine Liberation Organisation's congress there was little of the revolutionary fervour which Nasser might have exhibited under similar circumstances. There was, on the contrary, an attempt to build a bridge between Egypt and the Palestinians, as part of a simple and obvious power struggle.

Sadat must have felt that circumstances were beginning to turn against Egypt. Recent events included a Soviet refusal to supply Egypt with the arms it seeks (as attested in a recent column by *Al-Ahram* editor Mohammed Hassanein Heikal). Then came the public announcement of Hussein's federation plan, without prior consultation with Egypt. There were the West Bank elections under Israeli occupation, which Jordan did not strongly oppose. And, to add insult to injury, Hussein then went to the US and he, like Israel, concluded an arms deal with the Americans.

As Heikal put it last Friday in his column, the Arabs' position looks very disturbing, almost on the verge of total collapse. It may be that he is right: the Arab world as it has been shaped over the past dozen years, with the unquestioned primacy of Egypt, may be on the verge of disappearing. Instead, a cluster of individual states, looking after their own interests, appears to be taking shape. To Egyptians like Heikal or Sadat, this might seem tantamount to total collapse and therefore even acts of desperation may be needed to avert it.

Back to the good old days: Egypt has broken off relations with Jordan before, and Cairo radio's 120 hours of broadcasts a day have called for



ARAFAT WITH SADAT . . .
Keeping in step

the downfall of Hussein. But this had been before the Six Day War, when Nasser was still seeking to impose a new, "revolutionary" ideology on the whole of the Arab world.

In the intervening years, even while Iraq and Syria closed their borders with Jordan as an expression of sympathy with the Palestinian terrorist organisations during the 1970-71 power struggle, Egypt remained neutral. Its special presidential envoy, Dr. Hassan Sabry al-Khouly, joined with Saudi Deputy Foreign Minister Omar Sakka in a two-man mediation mission between Hussein and the terrorists. The mission failed, but



. . . AND WITH MINISTER SADEQ
Dressed to kill

Sadat kept his options open and relations intact.

At the same time, Egypt considered the American plans for a special settlement to reopen the Suez Canal, negotiated with Israel through Dr. Jarring, announced its terms for the special settlement (withdrawal of Israeli forces to El Arish), and also stated the "Arab" claims regarding Jerusalem. Jordan, as it had done through the years, accepted all this quietly, working on the assumption that, as under Nasser, Egypt was entitled to speak for all of the Arab world.

The awakening: It would be difficult to pin down the precise moment when the awakening came. Possibly it was with the realisation, after the defeat of the Palestinian terrorists and the death of Nasser, that Egypt no longer has the same hold over Arab countries as before.

It may have been when Hussein came to believe — as does former Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad — that a special settlement regarding the Suez Canal will give a further element of legality to Israel's presence in territories not evacuated in such a settlement. If Egypt could negotiate on this basis, Jordan must have felt that it too could negotiate with Israel over the territories which it ruled before the 1967 war, and even stake a claim to the Gaza strip which no-one seems to want.

However, Hussein's announcement of a federation was clearly intended to serve notice on Egypt that the time is past when Cairo was the authoritative voice of the entire Arab world. To make his intention still plainer, he then imposed a ban on his citizens' attending the congress of the PLO in Cairo. Without the attendance of the Palestinians of Jordan or of the West Bank, the congress was a much less representative body, and its Egyptian character and sponsorship were plain for all to see.

Sign of weakenings: Sadat's reaction shows to some measure the extent of his weakness. It was not the so-called revolutionary Arab States which broke off relations, but Egypt alone. Nor was the step preceded or followed by a consolidation of the Arab world: Sudan, for example, has so far not joined the Arab federation because it prefers keeping its own non-Arab south pacified.

At the height of Nasser's power,

the heads or prime ministers of other Arab States would have been summoned to Cairo by fiat, and the decision to sever relations with Amman would have been a joint one. Even after the 1967 war, Nasser would probably have known beforehand what the other Arab States would do; he might have consulted with them to work out a common course of action.

Sadat's public call on others to emulate him is not at all the same thing. The fact that not one of the other Arab States that have ties with Jordan followed Egypt's example within 24 hours is a further sign of his diminishing influence.

Naked power struggle: The ally which he has chosen—the Palestinians—is also a poor substitute for even one large Arab sovereign State. Until three years ago, leadership of the Palestinian cause assured an Arab State its primacy. It was regarded as the spear-head of the Arab struggle from which none could be indifferent.

But in 1972, the Palestinians are a pale shadow of their former selves. Routed in Jordan, sternly checked in Egypt, and curbed even in the Lebanon they are no longer the kind of ally which arouses respect and fear.

But the struggle between Egypt and Jordan is not over ideas, ideologies, systems of Government or even the method of dealing with Israel. Hussein has now served notice on Cairo that he no longer considers himself a satellite. It is not the federation plan itself which Cairo finds so objectionable. It is the fact that it has been announced by Jordan unilaterally.

The result is a naked power struggle, in which Egypt is trying to reassert its mastery. The outcome may well determine the nature of inter-Arab relations for many years.

King Hussein, in a phone call from Miami, said Sadat's action did not surprise him, since the Egyptian President had already eliminated any area of co-operation with Jordan.

Jordan's single political organisation, the Arab National Union, went further to say that Sadat was no longer viewed as the representative of the Egyptian people. "The true representatives are those held captive in Sadat's prisons," the Jordanians said, referring to Sadat's political opponents arrested last May.

ISRAEL

SEPHARDI TO BE NEXT KNESSET SPEAKER

ITZHAK NAVON HAS PUBLIC SUPPORT

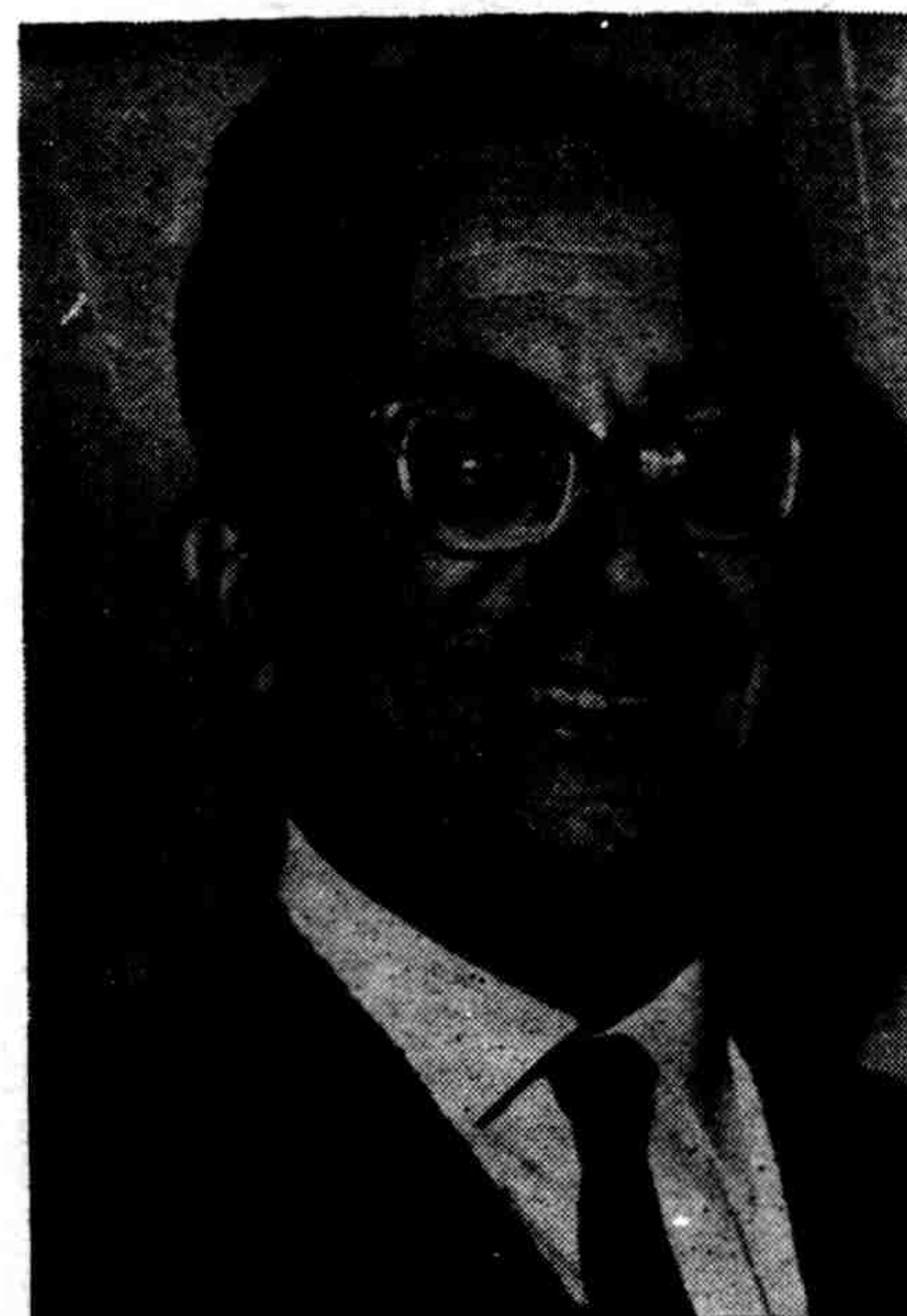
from our own correspondent

Tel Aviv:

Hardly had the announcement been made of the death of the late Reuven Barkat, than the fight was on for the vacant post of Knesset Speaker. The position carries with it considerable prestige, particularly as it is second in the national protocol after the President of the State, and the Speaker is always Acting President during the absence or illness of the incumbent head of state.

It is a political plum for any politician and is considered quite a prize in an egalitarian country which lacks other forms of rewards for public service such as the honours lists and orders of merit.

The two candidates around whom the contest is focusing are Labour Party Secretary-General Israel Yeschayahu, 62 and Deputy Knesset Speaker Yitzhak Navon, 51. The latter hurried back from Spain and on Sunday was elected as Acting Speaker by the



NAVON
Patrician manner

Knesset Committee, whose Chairman is Mr. Yeshayahu. But this appointment is only for the 30-day period of mourning, when the Knesset will probably proceed to elect a new Speaker.

Consolation prize: By virtue of its primacy in the political field and the number of its Knesset members, the Labour Party has always provided the Speaker of the Knesset. Working in Yeshayahu's favour is his seniority, and the feeling among the party's veteran leadership that he deserves a post of this kind to compensate him for the fact that he was dropped from the Party's list of Cabinet Ministers when Mrs. Meir came to reconstitute her Government after the 1969 General Elections.

Moreover, he has experience as Acting Knesset Speaker whilst Deputy Knesset Speaker, and has been many years in Israel's Parliament. But a prime motive is that Yeshayahu belongs to the ex-Mapai wing of the Labour Party which is not willing to let the Speakership out of its hands.

The top Party leaders are also under pressure from the party machine bosses to remove Yeshayahu from Labour Party head offices where he has proven less amenable of late, although they originally helped him to be elected to that difficult party job.

Oriental challenge: Yitzhak Navon, on the other hand, enjoys wide popular support for the post, mainly be-



YESHAYAHU
Yemenite worker

cause his patrician manner and amiable personality have enabled him to build up a reputation as a parliamentarian par excellence. But as he used to be in Rafi and the former Political Secretary of Ben-Gurion, he is not the first choice of the ex-Mapai veterans. However, he has consistently pursued a dove-ish line in most un-Rafi fashion.

"Railway builder": Yeshayahu was born in Yemen and worked his way up through the ranks from being a labourer in the Yemenite quarter of Rishon Lezion. His original power base was the Yemenite circle of the old Mapai party.

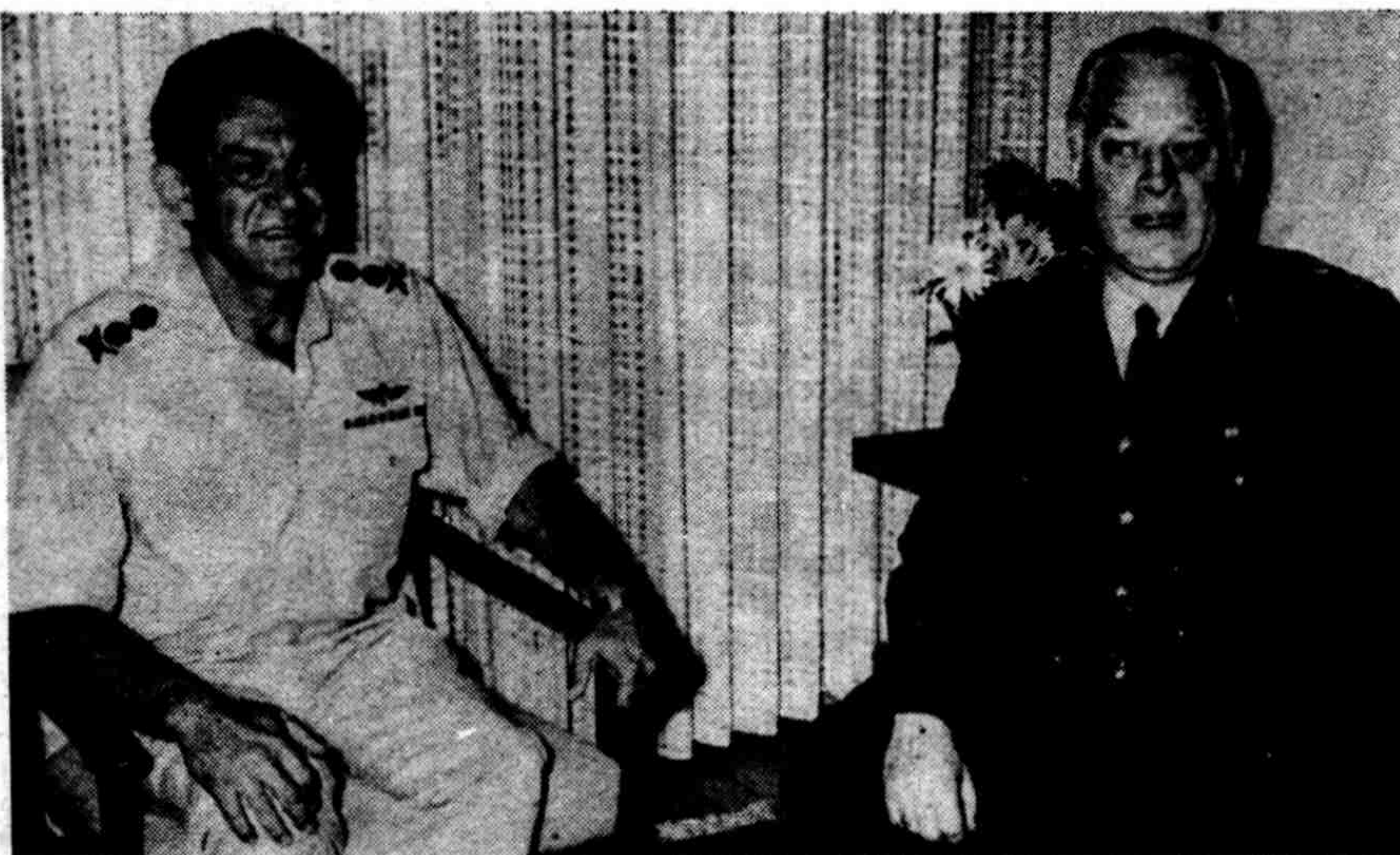
Navon comes from an old and distinguished Sephardi Jerusalem family. His grandfather was awarded the title of Pasha by the Sultan of Turkey and built the first railway connecting Jaffa to Jerusalem. Navon also enjoys popularity outside the political field. He is the author of such box office hits as *The Sephardi Orchard* and *The Romancero Sephardi*.

HOMAGE TO BARKATT

President Zalman Shazar paid the following tribute to Reuben Barkatt, Speaker of the Knesset, at the lying-in-State ceremony last Friday:

The Knesset knows how you strove to improve and render more sophisticated the procedures of Israel's legislature . . . You were well aware that ours is a people divided into parties, and like your predecessors you succeeded by patience, your cordial manner and the mutual respect that you implanted in inspiring honour amongst colleagues and fostering relations of decency, by virtue of your personal decency, in all the activities of the entire House, because you were conscious of the trust which the nation had placed in your faithful hands.

Your entire life was devoted to service—in the youth movement, in the soldiers' welfare federation, in the work of the Histadrut before the establishment of the State and in the service of the State since its establishment. And in the Knesset you have acquired the trust and the love of the delegates of all parties.



A HUNDRED THOUSAND HEBREW WELCOMES
Irish Republic chief of staff Maj.-General T. O'Carroll visits Israel's Gen. Elazar. He was in Israel for five days to meet Irish troops serving with the U.N. observer corps

INCOME TAX REDUCTION

For the first time in six years, income tax rates were slightly reduced with the beginning of the fiscal year on April 1. But Israelis are still able to claim the distinction of being the most heavily taxed nation in the world.

As of now, a family man with three children and a monthly gross income of IL.1,000 (£91) will have IL.34 (£3) more take-home pay than before.

A more important innovation than these nominal reductions is the restriction of tax deductions from overtime pay to 30 per cent. This, it is hoped, will encourage industrial workers to do more overtime. In the past, tax rates were so high that workers often preferred leisure to overtime.

All this is intended as a prelude to a major reform—the introduction of Value Added Tax. This is, basically, a retrogressive tax because it will fall with equal harshness on all—higher and lower income groups, whereas income tax is graded according to income level. But the Treasury's experts seem to have come to the conclusion that the progressive character of Israel's income tax has been carried so far that it defeats its own objective and that some redress in favour of the higher earners would redound to the benefit of the national economy as a whole.

CRYING OUT FOR WORKERS

Unemployment has reached a record low. According to last month's statistics, a daily average of only 677, one third of whom were women, were seeking work; on the other hand, labour exchanges received 35,000 requests for staff but could satisfy only 25,400.

The manpower shortage continues in spite of the employment of migrant Arab labour from the West Bank. Industry is crying out for an additional 2,900 workers and, building firms for 1,000. Also, 500 clerks and 400 more professionals are needed.

Labour Minister Joseph Almogi disclosed this week that West Bank leaders had offered to bring labour from Jordan to Israel. However, in spite of the labour shortage, he would not recommend such a course of action, if the matter came up in the Cabinet.

WORRY ABOUT MONEY

Israel is too small to provide a market for its own writers. This was the main conclusion drawn by the National Conference of the Hebrew Writers Association, held last week in Tel Aviv. One of the Association's leading members, Hanoah Bartov, complained: "A population of two and a half million simply cannot sus-

tain a community of writers on a commercial basis . . . A way must be found to enable the Hebrew writer to devote more of his time to creative art rather than efforts to make a living".

The great majority of Israeli authors have bread-and-butter jobs and write more or less as a hobby. Some teach literature, some are journalists. Only the privileged few can devote all their time to writing. But even they depend on handouts, such as Government subsidies and literary prizes. When a book in Israel sells 5,000 copies it is accounted a great success; 30,000 is sensational.

Accordingly, the conference demanded greater official assistance, higher royalties and more prize money. A suggestion by Education and Culture Minister Yigal Allon that Universities should hire writers as literary advisers is to be explored.

NO MOURNING ON HOLIDAYS

Knesset Speaker Reuben Barkat died on Tuesday night. The next morning, the Government Press Office informed the press and by noon the agencies had circulated the news around the world.

But the news was still not published or broadcast to the public because Wednesday was the last day of Passover, and Jewish tradition forbids mourning or even the reporting of a death on Saturdays and holidays. Since there



RETAINING THE BEST OF THEIR HERITAGE
Moroccan Jews celebrate their traditional Maimonna festival

were no newspapers either, there was no way for the ordinary citizen to know.

But something did filter out and a rumour spread that Ben-Gurion had died. The rumour gained strength from the fact that until the late afternoon on Wednesday it proved impossible to reach the Old Man at either of his homes or any of the hotels where he sometimes spends holidays. Eventually, reporters located him and to set minds at rest Israel radio broadcast a contrived news story about Ben-Gurion to make it clear that nothing had happened to him.

However, the Broadcasting Services

came in for a great deal of criticism for their decision to mark the official mourning from the announcement on Wednesday evening till burial on Friday noon by taking the Light Programme entirely off the air and restricting Programme A to news, heavy music and a few features of a melancholy character. Television carried almost only news.

The Broadcasting Authority announced that it had acted according to the decisions of an interministerial committee for state funerals. But most newspapers criticised this as excessive. The committee then announced it would reconsider its decision for the future.

A MILLION TOURISTS IN 1972 ?

In the first three months of 1972, 150,000 tourists came to Israel which is half as much again as in the same period last year, the Director-General of the Ministry of Tourism, Hanoach Givton, announced last week. In the six winter months — October 1971 to March 1972 — the number of tourists was 300,000. If the inflow continues at this rate, it may top one million by the end of this year.

At the same time, the shortage of trained hotel staff is becoming steadily worse. The Netanya branch of the Hotel Owners Association have asked the Minister of Tourism, Moshe Kol, to recommend the hiring of hotel staff from Cyprus, Greece, Italy and Spain.

Hoping, apparently, that the staff shortage will be overcome, a group of German financiers have decided to invest 40 million dollars in the construction of five new hotels with a total of 1,800 rooms. The hotels are to be managed by a newly-established company in which El Al has a 50 per cent interest.

This may come in handy for El Al, whose Manager, Mordecai Ben-Ari, announced last week that, for the first time ever, his company may not be able to show a profit at the end of the financial year 1972-73. At best, he said, the firm may break even, because the cost-price spiral has led to an aviation crisis affecting all the world's airlines.

Part of the German money comes from Jewish financiers, another part — some 15 million dollars — will come from a group of German banks, but with a guarantee by the Israeli Government.

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A CHRONICLE OF JEWISH EVENTS

MOSCOW JEWS FEAR NEW POLICE BRUTALITY

Following the brutal police treatment of the young Jews of Moscow on the first night of Passover, 25 Moscow Jews have appealed to Jewish communities in the USA and Europe for support to stop the situation from deteriorating even further. Another letter on the same subject was sent to the director of the legal section of the United Nations by seven Moscow Jews headed by Boris Kogan, the activist Jewish lawyer.

On Monday night, 120 Jews attended a service at the Moscow Synagogue on Arkipova Street to commemorate the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The Kaddish was recited and there were numerous speeches about the young martyrs who perished while taking on the Nazi armies in Warsaw.

However, when the Jews came out of the synagogue, they again found militia men waiting for them. The Jews were not allowed to linger and were dispersed quickly.

Another telegram to President Shazar of Israel has been sent by 21 Moscow Jews including Esther and David Markish, commemorating the legendary courage and bravery of the Warsaw Ghetto.

On Tuesday night, 15 Kiev Jews were hoping to commemorate the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising by a Remembrance Service at Babi Yar, the site of one of the greatest massacres in World War Two, despite refusals by the local authorities to authorise the service. The 15 include a number of those arrested outside the Kiev synagogue and sentenced to 15 days imprisonment for hooliganism. These are Professor Vladimir Barboy and his son Boris, Yuri Soroko, Natan Remenik, Lina Umanskaya, Igor Mindel and Alexander Feldman.

In Kharkov, Yuri Brind has been placed in Mental Hospital number 36. Brind has never had any previous mental illness and has never before visited a psychiatrist. On April 3, he began a hunger strike and sent a telegram to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim stating that his only "crime" was his desire to leave for Israel.



SHAZAR DEDICATES HIS NEW RESIDENCE
Reminders from Russia

THE KIROV BALLET ON STAGE

After the initial wave of publicity regarding the intention of the Kirov Ballet husband and wife team, Valery Panov and Galina Pagoza, to emigrate to Israel, the Soviet authorities have begun to harass them. When Panov applied for a character reference from the ballet's management he was rewarded instead with the customary intimidation meeting.

Peoples' artists commenced the discussion with a reference to "treachery in the theatre".

Another artist, Kurgapkina, point blank refused to dance with Panov in the future, whilst Instructor Kaplun revelled in a quote from Taras Bulba: "We gave birth to him, now we must kill him".

A director of the ballet, Raginsky, attempted to persuade Pagoza to leave her husband because of his wish to go to Israel. Both Panov and Pagoza have been refused admittance to the Leningrad Theatre where the Kirov plays and practises.

SCIENTISTS STOPPED FROM EMIGRATING

Three Moscow physicists, Boris Ainbinder, Dan Raginsky and Sergei Gurvits, have applied for help to the President of Tel Aviv University, Professor Yuval Neeman. All three

have been deprived of facilities to do research in their field. At the same time they have been told that they are needed to work in the USSR and that "no specialists can be sent to Israel — a state which is hostile to the USSR".

Another scientist experiencing problems in emigrating to Israel is 72-year-old Professor Yevgeny Ratner of Moscow. Ratner, who has been sick for some time and has been a pensioner for three and a half years, has worked in his field of research in plant physiology for 45 years. More than 150 of his works have been published in a variety of languages. In reply to his application he was told that, as a professor, he is too important to be given an exit permit.

Last week 40-year-old Professor Herman Brannover of Riga was denied an exit permit by the Latvian emigration authorities. An expert in hydrodynamics, he has resigned from his post because he found that the difficulties in retaining religious traditions had become too great — he belongs to the Chabad movement. Brannover recently asked to teach the Torah to a group of 20 Jews. When the class started, a local official warned him that if he continued teaching, he would be charged under Paragraph 137 of the Latvian Criminal Code which deals with separation of Church and State.

Nitzon

In Riga, two Jews received 15-day jail sentences each, after participating in a demonstration to commemorate the killing of Jews by Germans in World War Two. Jewish sources, speaking by telephone from Riga, capital of Latvia, said that Jews from Latvia, Lithuania and Byelorussia had gathered last Sunday near Riga. According to the sources security police who were watching the scene arrested four participants in different parts of the city.

They said two were released and the other two sentenced on charges of hooliganism. They had been seen talking to American tourists, the sources said.

In Israel on Monday, thousands of people attended memorial services and rallies to mark Holocaust Memorial Day. Cabinet Ministers and other leading public figures told mass audiences that only a strong Israel, guarded by defensible borders, could prevent a recurrence of the tragedy that had befallen the Jewish communities of Europe 30 years ago. Services were conducted in synagogues and in Holocaust memorial shrines in all parts of the country.



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PREJUDICE

U.S. SHOCKED BY DEICIDE SERMON

WASHINGTON DEAN SPARKS
EASTER ROW

from our Washington correspondent

Rivers of angry ink have been flowing here ever since the Dean of Washington's Episcopal Cathedral preached to his congregation on Palm Sunday. The Dean, the Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre, Jr., a grandson of President Woodrow Wilson, referred in his sermon to Israel as an "oppressor" of Jerusalem who would prefer to "kill rather than to be over-ruled by God".

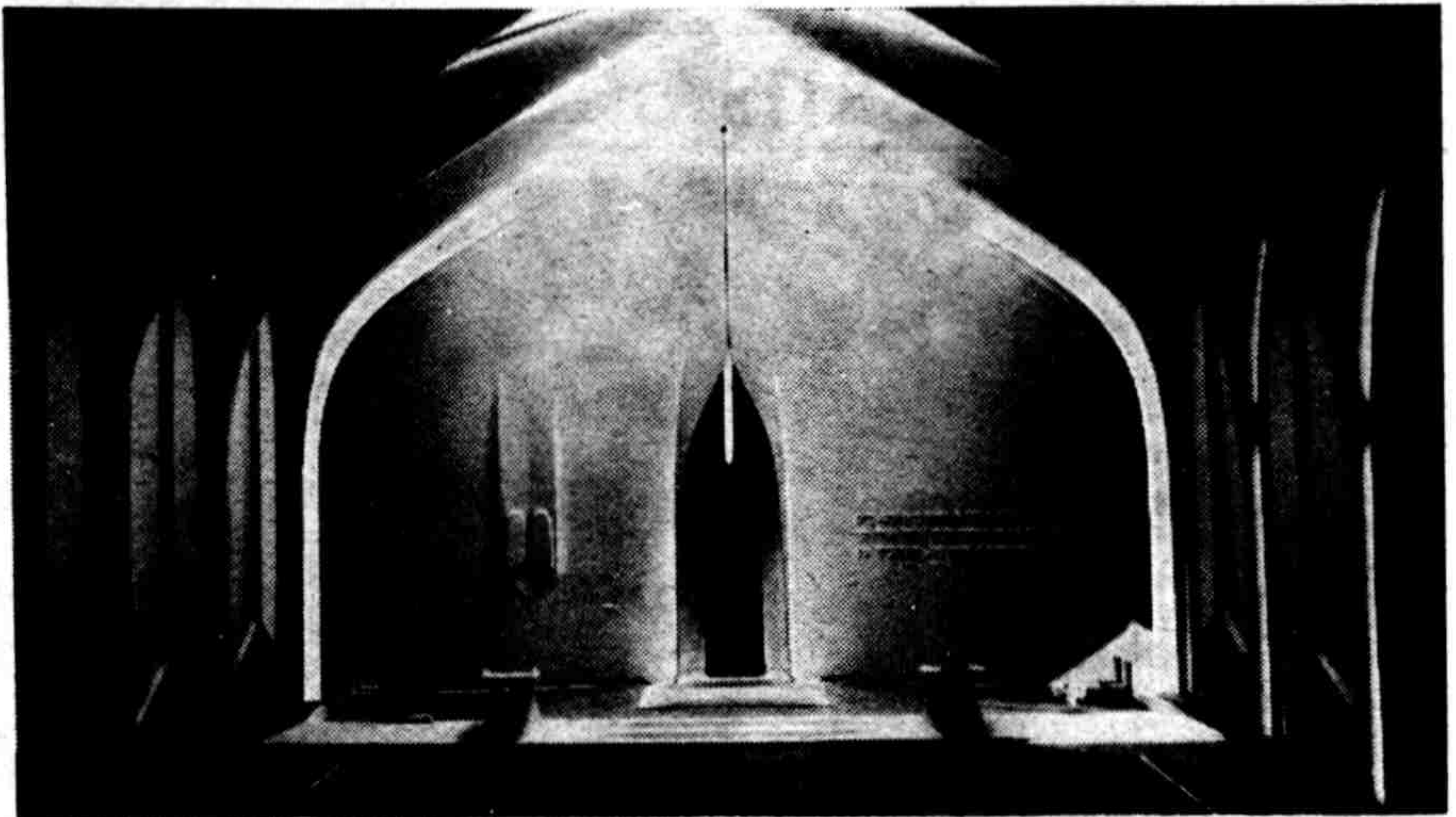
It was not so much the Dean's hostility to Israel which aroused fury as the hints of deicide with which his words were tinged. Among many people—Christians as well as Jews—they summoned forth reminders that Easter has traditionally been the season in which crude Christian anti-semitism was most likely to break the surface.

But that, of course, was in the bad, old pre-ecumenical days, before good Pope John and his Vatican Council absolved the Jewish people of perpetual guilt for the crucifixion of Christ. Its resurrection by a nice Anglican churchman has been all the more surprising.

One example of many: Evidently, Dean Sayre did not think he was Jew-baiting. In his sermon he cited events in Jerusalem as one of many examples of "the moral tragedy of mankind". And he added:

"What a mirror, then, is modern Israel of that fatal flaw in the human breast that forever leaps to the acclaim of God only to turn the next instant to the suborning of his will for us . . . Jerusalem, in all the pain of her history, remains the sign of our utmost reproach: the zenith of our hope, undone by the wanton meanness of men who will not share it with their fellows, but choose to kill rather than to be over-ruled by God."

Could he, one might have wondered charitably, be referring to Arab behaviour before 1967? The doubt was soon dispelled. "The oppressed had



SYNAGOGUE IN GLENCOE, ILLINOIS
The old hatreds still stir

become the oppressors", he thundered, while the Arabs "have neither voice nor happiness in the city that is the capital of their religious devotion, too."

Smile of the future: The deicide theme came through even more clearly a few moments later when Sayre said: "Around the world 'Hosannah' was echoed as Jewish armies surged across the open scar that used to divide Arab Jerusalem from the Israeli sector. Now the Jews have it all. But even as they praise God for the smile of the future upon them, they begin almost simultaneously to put Him to death—as if Jerusalem could ever be altogether theirs, or anyone's."

Perhaps aware that his private revelation about Jerusalem might not win universal approval, the Dean hastened to identify his authority for it as Hebrew University chemistry Professor Israel Shahak, describing him as a Jewish survivor of Belsen and a resident of Jerusalem for 18 years. (Shahak's maverick criticisms of Israel appear in the current issue of *Christianity and Crisis*. He calls Israel's unification of Jerusalem "an immoral unjust act".)

Nevertheless, the sermon immediately detonated an explosion of incredulous anger. Two Episcopal churchmen, together with Catholics and the Armenian legate in Washington, deplored and refuted his allegations. Tuesday's *Washington Post* carried seven lengthy letters, not all from Jewish readers, but all of them deeply critical. The writers included two Catholic churchmen, Professor Harold Fisch (the Bar Ilan Pro-

fessor currently teaching English at Maryland), and the chairman of the Middle East section of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League.

Painfully close: The *Post*'s editorial took the same line as its letter writers. It took issue with his political arguments, and added that his reference to putting God "to death" ran "painfully close to the very old, very familiar line of the worst bigotry".

The *Post* suggested that the Dean did not intend to evoke this recollection. The same charitable assumption was made in an otherwise furious editorial in the local Jewish weekly paper, *The Jewish Week*, which compared it to the utterances of a Czarist Russian priest. However, there was nothing charitable about the nature of the next round of letters published by the *Post* on Saturday.

J. T. S. Kearns of Culpeper wrote: "The shocking attack in your April 4 issue on Dean Sayre can only lead to one conclusion: *Post* editors believe they have more Jewish readers than Episcopal readers."

Another letter writer, describing himself as the editor of the *National Youth Alliance*, declared, as if stating the obvious, that "the Jewish occupation authorities in Palestine are oppressing the Arab population there. Jewish oppression . . . is brutal and inhumane to a degree unequalled in the 20th century . . ."

Meanwhile, it became known that Dean Sayre's views about Israel were no sudden flight of fancy. Two years ago, he had organised a national prayer meeting at the Cathedral on behalf of Palestinian Arabs attended by a host of pro-Arab organisations.

JERUSALEM



JOHN EISENHOWER AND THE MORLEYS
Following in Solomon's footsteps

JUST A QUIET, LITTLE BAR-MITZVAH

BULGARIAN CAMELOT AT THE WESTERN WALL

from our Tel Aviv correspondent

Not since King Solomon brought all his wives' relations to that big party in Jerusalem, has the Holy Land seen such a spectacle. It was the bar-mitzvah to end all bar-mitzvahs and will go down in the annals of the newly-formed Society of Jewish Machers and Caterers . . .

The ingredients were straight out of Hollywood—poor boy immigrant who made millions in the Goldene Land of America decides to celebrate coming of age of beloved first-born son with show which will not only make neighbours envious but neighbours' neighbours too. Add royalty (albeit in exile), top American names and contribution-hungry politicians—and it is the recipe for a big show.

This true story started in the years after World War Two, when young Nissim Meshulam left Sofia with his family and the rest of the Bulgarian Jewish community to settle in the Land of Israel. He and his brother fought in the War of Independence in the famous Givati Brigade, and his brother was killed. On demobilisation, young Nissim tried to make good and worked in a series of jobs—as a taxi driver and a chef at the Yarden Hotel in northern Tel Aviv. But in 1956, he went to make his

fortune in Miami with his father and brother Edmond who had preceded him by some years.

Letter to Jerusalem: Today, 16 years later and at the age of 42, Nissim Meshulam is the multi-millionaire Nick Morley who has built himself an economic empire, founded on the construction industry in Miami and the State of Florida. An active member of the Jewish community, he has built the Sinai Medical Centre and is one of the big givers to the UJA—last year alone he contributed \$300,000.

When his son Moshe approached his bar-mitzvah he asked that it be celebrated at the Western Wall and even wrote to the appropriate rabbinical authority at the Ministry of Religious Affairs. His request was granted, especially after his father attached the guest list to the request—and the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem granted its approval with alacrity.

So on Saturday night, more than 500 guests sat down to a resplendent banquet in the Tel Aviv Exhibition Gardens to celebrate Moshe Morley's bar-mitzvah, and demonstrated incidentally to everyone concerned that Nick Morley has made it. On Monday,

part of the Western Wall was roped off to let the Morleys' happening happen complete with their rabbi and choir specially flown over from Miami.

The ex-King himself: The father was chartering planes to fly over his guests from the United States. At the head of the guest list the poor Jewish boy from Sofia had the exiled King Simeon II of Bulgaria who recently elevated him to one of his 100-member "Council of State". Another aristocratic guest is a descendant of Charlemagne by name of Duc Emanuel d'Uzes.

The American Social Register was well represented by John Eisenhower, relative of President Nixon (and son of Ike). Also invited were a former Eisenhower Cabinet member, Maxwell Rabb, and the distinguished US architect, Lapidus, not to mention a whole galaxy of Senators, Congressmen and the Mayor of Miami and a "mazeltov" message from Democratic hopeful Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

KOLLEK BARRED

FROM JERUSALEM

EVENT

EBAN CONDEMNS CHUTZPA FRANCAISE

Just as a delegation of the France-Israel Friendship Society arrived in Tel Aviv from Paris, relations between the two countries took another steep dive. As a result, prospects did not look rosy for the week of special events to be held in Jerusalem later this month in connection with the dedication of French House on the Hebrew University campus.

At the centre of the storm was the objection by France to the Mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, attending an exhibition on Paris to be held as part of the celebrations. The French fear that his presence at an event in his own city might be construed as French recognition of the unification of Jerusalem under Israel.

Kollek himself refrained from commenting. But Foreign Minister Abba Eban voiced his opinion in no uncertain terms and other Cabinet Ministers, including Yigal Allon, the Deputy Premier, were all set to boycott the exhibition.

Referring to the refusal of Foreign Minister Schumann to visit Israel before he gave up the occupied territories and to a recent French vote at the United Nations, Eban said that these incidents were further souring relations between the two countries.

Comédie performance: Eban declared: "If someone is not willing to be received by the Mayor of Jerusalem, then he doesn't want to be received by the Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs. Those who visit the city have the duty as guests to carry out the normal civilities and courtesies towards the elected representative of that city." The mayor had already received the Foreign Ministers of Italy, Belgium and West Germany. "It would be quite artificial for any European group, official or unofficial, not to feel itself honoured to be invited by him."

The French are not objecting to any of the other events planned for the week. These include a performance by the Comédie Française, a national company, and the naming of a street in Jerusalem after General Pierre Koenig, France's Second World War hero who for many years headed the France-Israel Friendship Society.

Heading the society's delegation which arrived in Israel on Sunday is M. Alain Poher, president of the French Senate. Deputy Premier Louis Joxe will head the delegation at the opening of French House.

Soustelle's hope: Also in the delegation is Jacques Soustelle, a former Gaullist Minister. In an interview with the *Jerusalem Post*, he expressed mild optimism about the chances of President Pompidou reversing — or at least correcting — his negative policy towards Israel.

The forthcoming French referendum on Britain's entry into the Common Market, Soustelle forecast, would give Pompidou a resounding victory. "After the approval by the nation of this reversal of de Gaulle's basic policy, Pompidou will no longer be a successor but a President in his own right. It might be easier then to convince him to modify his bias on the Middle East."

In a reference to the recent West Bank elections, he said that it was a great achievement for Israel to have brought about such a normalisation in the situation of the people with whom they will have to live side by side, whatever the political solution.



SIEFF WITH GOLDMANN AND WOLFSON
Memorable friendships

ISRAEL HONOURS LORD SIEFF TRIBUTES BY GOLDMANN AND EBAN

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem:

A memorial meeting for the late Lord Sieff was held on Sunday night in Israel's capital city, of which he was the first non-resident Freeman. Among those who attended the occasion at the Israel Museum were Premier Golda Meir, Deputy Premier Yigal Allon, Ministers Sapir and Peres, the British Ambassador John Barnes, Israeli Ambassador to Britain Michael Comay, Jewish Agency chairman Louis Pincus and many members of "The Family". Other participants were Sir Isaac Wolfson, Sir Charles Clore and Eric Lucas, ZF director in Israel.

The meeting was chaired by Mayor Teddy Kollek and speakers included Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Foreign Minister Eban. Goldmann was in Israel for three days to launch his memoirs in Hebrew and to take part in a television programme on Soviet Jewry. The occasion was under the auspices of two bodies with which Sieff had been associated — the British Zionist Federation, (he was the ZF's honorary president), and the Jerusalem Municipality, in conjunction with the Weizmann Institute, Wizo, World Jewish Congress and the WZO.

Goldmann, delivering his first address in Jerusalem since the cancellation of his address to the 28th Zionist Congress in January, said that

Sieff's harmonious personality showed that one could be a great Jew and a great Englishman at the same time. He was never one-sided like many great leaders are today. Businessman and philanthropist, connoisseur of the arts and sciences, of wines and good food, he was the gentlest of Jewish leaders.

Architect of events: Goldmann said he was certain that Sieff did good because it satisfied him rather than to fulfil the Biblical demands. For the past ten years, said Goldmann, Lord Sieff "had been my closest friend among Jewish leaders".

Abba Eban said that Sieff had not been a spectator but "an architect of great events". His own identity and vocation had been clear to him from his early days. His aim had been to get the Jewish people to return to its roots from which it would progress with renewed vitality.

Eban recalled his last conversation with Sieff: "It was Sieff's central concern that Israel, amid its youthful exuberance, might try and stand alone and be unwilling to bear the burden offered by the entire Jewish inheritance."

Tape recordings: Excerpts of Sieff's speech when he accepted the Freeman-ship in Jerusalem in 1969 were played back, in which he stressed the centrality of Jerusalem to his thoughts and feelings.

Mayor Kollek concluded by saying that it was fitting that its memorial meeting should be held in this city, which by Sieff's own testimony, occupied such a special place in his consciousness.

JEWISH OBSERVER & MIDDLE EAST REVIEW

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BOOKS

A SCHOOL-GIRL IN THE WARSAW GHETTO

HOPE IS THE LAST TO DIE, a personal documentation of Nazi terror, by Halina Birenbaum, 246 pages, (Twayne Publishers, New York 1971), no price.

Halina Birenbaum is today an Israeli housewife who lives in Herzliyah. But her life for the past 30 years has been overshadowed by her childhood experience of life and death in the Warsaw Ghetto, the rising against the Nazis, the deportations to extermination camps, the deaths of her heroic mother and her father, the disappearance of relatives and of passing friends, her struggle for survival in Majdanek and Auschwitz and the final days before liberation in Neustadt-Glewe.

She was only 13 when the nightmare began. Yet the day to day memories were indelibly printed in her retentive youthful mind. They lay heavily on her in the years which followed, when she found her way to Israel, grew to womanhood and became a mother herself. Finally, in 1967, she put pen to paper. The result is a coherent stream of memories which, in terms of detail, clarity and youthful innocence, must rank with the diary of Anne Frank.

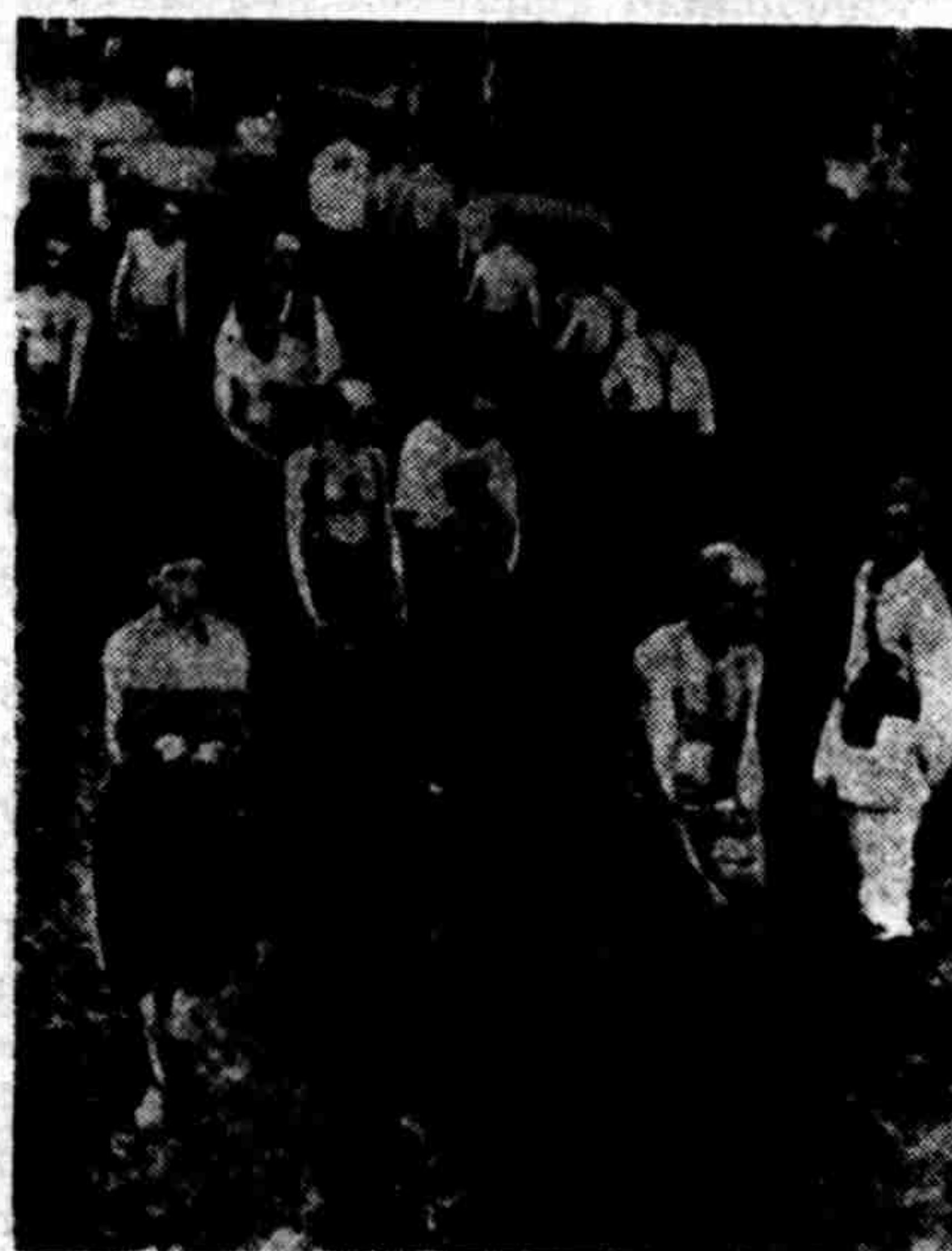
The difference, unfortunately, is that Mrs. Birenbaum's memoirs appear to have been edited by a not so innocent pen. First published in Polish in Warsaw, the book arouses one's curiosity because, while it includes candid condemnations of the behaviour of the Jewish police in the ghetto, it tends to omit anything but complimentary references to non-Jewish Poles. It also forgets that the Ghetto revolted before anyone else in Poland. The descriptive passages are over-larded with generalisations of an internationalist flavour which, to put it politely, seem a trifle advanced for a 13 year-old girl wandering through hell. There is also a deafening silence about the connection between death in Europe and rebirth in the State of Israel.

Nevertheless, whatever the circumstances surrounding the book's pub-



REVOLT LEADER ANIELEWICZ
"There are no stereotypes"

lication, Mrs. Birenbaum's childhood memories are a compelling document. They unerringly capture the escalation of terror as the dreaded round-ups in Warsaw draw tighter and tighter, the firm determination of Halina's mother not to let her family be deported, the fact that the uprising was also a revolt against the Jewish Establishment, the angry disbelief with which people treated the first rumours about the fate of deportees, the touching hope that the Jews would be put to work in the fields, the pall of dense smoke over Auschwitz.



PRISONERS IN WARSAW
"The poorest went first"

A fair comment appears in a foreword by Ludwik Kryzanowski. "What emerges from this memoir," he writes, "is the fact that human beings under stress will still act out of their inherent characters—only more so, and that the basic instinct of self-preservation will drive humans to acts which in a 'normal' society could not easily be condoned. The author refers time and again to the behaviour of the members of the Jewish community who would go to any length to prolong their own existence by providing the prescribed number of Jewish victims to their Nazi overlords. One thing clearly emerges from the book: it is not Polish gentiles or Polish Jews who behave in one way or another—there are no stereotypes."

* * *

It is difficult to disagree with this comment by a Polish writer. This book deserves to be widely read not only for its own sake but—particularly for Jewish readers—because it redresses a certain tendency to oversimplify the story of Jewish sufferings through the rosy spectacles of national solidarity. Future commemorations of the Warsaw Ghetto should take note of Halina's recollection that "they — the poorest — were the first victims of the deportations", and that "for years, up to the time of the extensive 'campaigns' of deporting thousands of people to the extermination camp at Treblinka, the Judenrat kept suppressing the spirit of resistance and the fighting in our community. The Judenrat was feeble and subservient to the orders of the German Nazis."

This is, of course, a generalisation. There were heroes as well as cowards among the Jewish leadership. But nobody should think they all consisted of either one or the other. Unbalanced memories of history — whether of the Holocaust or the destruction of the Red Indians — are always likely to be reversed by those who discover the other side of the story.

On such an important subject, it is important that the whole truth be remembered. A lot more of it is perceived here through the eyes of Halina Birenbaum than by some of the more prominent authorities on the Holocaust.

M. S.

BRITAIN

"NO LENIENCY FOR GENOCIDE" NAZI-HUNTERS PRAISED AT GHETTO RALLY

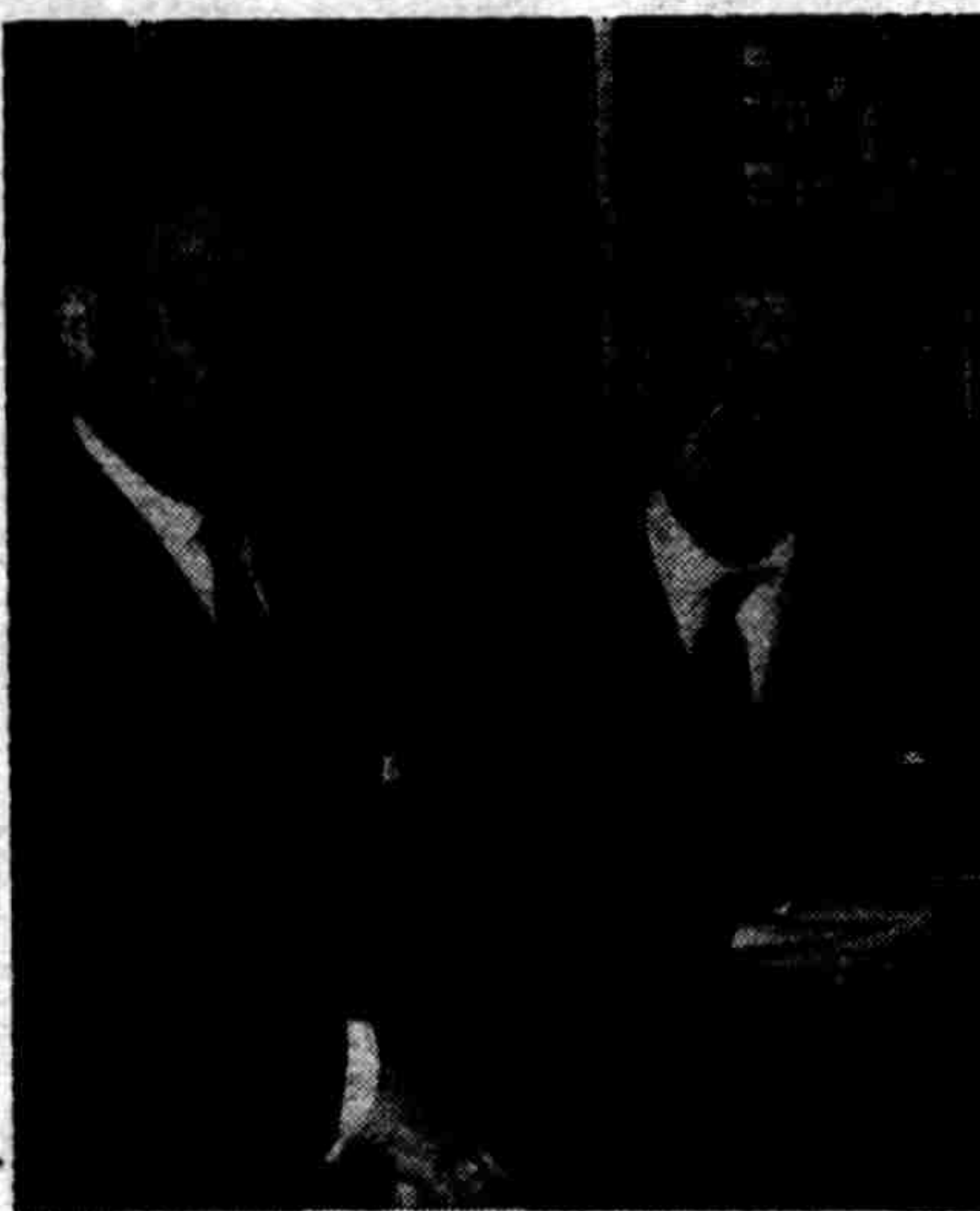
Jewish Observer Reporter

London :

Memories of the Warsaw Ghetto were revived on Sunday at the 29th commemoration meeting for the Ghetto Uprising and the six million Jewish martyrs of Nazism. The meeting was held at the Cambridge Theatre, London.

The guest of honour was Lord Maybray-King, former Speaker of the House of Commons, who recalled that it was his privilege when he held that office to go to Jerusalem for the opening of the new Knesset building. "My most moving, almost bitterly moving, experience was to join others at a service to the martyrs of World War Two. There on the floor were the names of the notorious camps, Auschwitz, Treblinka and the rest."

Hatred and tyranny, he added, were the enemies of society. "We seek to create a free world where all



FRISNER AND LORD MAYBRAY-KING
"A tragedy for all of us"

have the same rights whatever their race, creed, colour, religion or political faith." While the tragedy which they were recalling had its own peculiar depth for the Jew. "But it was the tragedy of all of us. It was an outrage not merely against Jewry but against the whole of mankind, against all that is precious and valuable in the world."

Punishment required: Mr. S. Frisner, chairman of the Polish Jewish Ex-Servicemen's Association in Britain, referred to recent outcries in some quarters over the pursuit of war criminals and the continuation of trials for war crimes. It was not for revenge that they demanded their punishment. "We cannot afford leniency towards the perpetrators of genocide while their successors are still scheming."

"The architects of the gas chambers and crematoria have been acquitted in Vienna because they were 'only obeying orders'. Klaus Barbie, Gestapo chief in France and the butcher of Lyons, lives a rich and comfortable life in Bolivia. Joseph Mengele, the Auschwitz beast, is still at large. I have mentioned only a few. It would be an affront to the dead to let their murderers off. Let us pay tribute on this occasion to Simon Wiesenthal,

Tuvia Friedman, Beate Klarsfeld and the others who dedicate their lives to tracing war criminals and exposing them."

Frisner also referred to the plight of Jews in Syria and other Arab countries who were suffering "degradation and sometimes medieval torture". It was a shock, he declared, to hear that even the British Government did not feel bound to intervene on humanitarian grounds.

Posterity's memory: Mr. Matityahu Dagan, consul-general at the Israeli Embassy in London, said that time had put scars on the wounds of the holocaust so that it was no longer bleeding, but it would never heal without trace.

Criticism of a publisher's decision to bring out "a new and even more accessible edition" of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was voiced by Lord Janner. There was no need, he said, for a mass-produced edition of "this obscene book by a monster".

Miss Naomi Freedman spoke on behalf of Jewish youth in Britain and Julian Gold recited from holocaust literature and the Kinor Choir gave a concert. The Rev. Joseph Malovany, cantor of the Edgware Synagogue, recited the *El Mole Rachamim* and *Kaddish*.

CHILDREN HEAR OF WARSAW GHETTO

In addition to the memorial meeting, the 29th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising was marked at the Cambridge Theatre on Sunday by a special performance for young people. The narrator and compere of the programme was Mr. Cyril Shaps. The main event was a play put on by the Cameo Players telling the story of the martyrdom of the Polish Jewish children's Doctor Janusz Korczak and his children in the Warsaw Ghetto. There were songs sung by the WIZO Choir, conducted by Judith Cohen, including the Yiddish song "Es Brennt".

This was followed by readings from Anne Frank's Diary by Cordelia Monsey, daughter of the actress Yvonne Mitchell. A memorial candelabrum was lit by children of Ghetto survivors. Mrs. M. Dagan, the wife of the Israel Consul General, spoke on behalf of Israel and thanked the performers and organisers for their work.

The meeting was arranged by the Education and Youth Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and was sponsored among other groups by the Zionist Federation whose Hon. Secretary, Miss Beatrice Barwell, was the Chairman of the Committee.

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UNA SQUASHES MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION

JEWS AND PRO-ARABS EXPRESS REGRET

Jewish Observer Reporter

Reading:

Jewish organisations attending the British United Nations Association's annual conference at the weekend refused to participate in the Middle East debate because a resolution submitted by the British Section of the World Jewish Congress was withdrawn from the final agenda. This resolution, however, was adopted by the World Federation of United Nations' Associations at a conference at Luxembourg last May, which was endorsed by both Israeli and Arab delegates.

The resolution merely endorsed the November 1967 UN Resolution, which called on all parties to do their utmost to create a just and lasting peace settlement. The WJC resolution also called on the parties to observe the rules of war, and to ensure respect for the territory of other countries and the safety of international communications.

Mrs. Elizabeth Collard, representing the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding, also expressed regret that the resolution had been omitted, as CAABU too had wished to support it. Her views were echoed by Mr. John Ennals, vice-president of WFUNA.

A former Labour MP, Mr. Frank Hooley, well-known for his pro-Arab sympathies, moved a resolution on behalf of the North East Regional Council. Hooley noted that the General Assembly, on December 13, 1971, reaffirmed that acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible, and that consequently territory thus occupied must be restored.

Hooley stated that "Israel was all to blame for flouting and jeering against the UN Security Council resolution in all respects. The only other country that had behaved in such a manner towards the UN was South Africa."

The conference at the Reading University, was attended by more than 400 delegates, including representatives from the Federation of Synagogues, Ajax, Pioneer Women,

W.J.C., Anglo-Jewish Association and the Poale Zion. Pioneer Women's Mrs. Mary Mikardo put forward a resolution calling for equal rights for women in the Soviet Union.

SOTHEBY'S TO SELL NORDAU LETTERS

THE WHOLE HISTORY of the first 25 years of the Zionist Movement from the First Congress and the early negotiations with the Russian and Turkish Governments to the Balfour Declaration and the Treaty of San Remo in 1920 is illustrated by 12 letters and articles by Max Nordau which will be sold at Sotheby's on Tuesday, 9 May.

The 12 letters and articles to be sold are distinguished not only by Nordau's eloquence but also by his broad vision which under all circumstances embraced the point of view of the non-Zionist as well as the Zionist Jew and of the non-Jewish as well as the Jewish world. The closing words of one of his last articles, "Great Britain and Palestine", form a splendid epitaph to his work: "Our fate is in our hand, and it depends essentially on the relations we will be able to establish with the Arabs." It is believed this is the first occasion on which Nordau's Zionist writings in English have appeared in any European saleroom.

ZF INDEPENDENCE DAY ACTIVITIES

The main function of the Zionist Federation for the 24th Israel Independence Day celebrations will be at the Florence Michael Hall, St. John's Wood Synagogue, on Wednesday, April 19. However, there will be a number of other functions.

On Tuesday, in London Mr. Shimon Avizemer, Israel's former Consul in India and Great Britain, will be speaking, and there will be an Israeli Dance Troupe.

An Israeli Dance Troupe will also be performing at the Selig Brodetsky Zionist Society in Kenton, where the guest speaker will be Mr. Reuven Brin, the former Military Governor of Samaria. The Zionist Federation's Provincial Secretary, Norman Morris, will be speaking at the Highgate Zionist Society. On the same day at Manchester there will be a special Synagogue Service at Heaton Park Synagogue, followed by a Youth Rally at Mamlock House. On Independence Day itself there will be a pageant at the new Century Hall.

In London, on Wednesday, there will be a joint meeting with the Clapton

Zionist Society together with the local Jewish community and WIZO which will be joined by the Dalston Zionist Society, where the WIZO Choir will be singing Hebrew and Yiddish songs and the Tottenham and District Zionist Society will be putting on a show of Israeli films.

Amongst the many activities taking place in the Provinces on Independence Day itself will be a meeting at Birmingham in which the principal speaker will be Lord Janner and the meeting will take the form of a solidarity meeting with Soviet Jewry and many civic dignitaries will be present. In Leeds, the Baroness Bacon will be the principal speaker at a celebration at the Habonim Youth Centre. At Liverpool, there will be a synagogue service, Youth Pageant and Israeli Food Fair. Tamar, the Israeli Television and Radio Entertainer, will also be performing. ZF General Secretary Sidney Shipton will be Dublin's guest speaker.

In Norwich there will be a dramatic presentation in the Synagogue Hall in the evening. On Sunday, April 23, the Glasgow Zionist Organisation will be having a Film Show, and on the same date in Portsmouth there will be a special dinner organised by the local WIZO at which the Guest of Honour will be the Zionist Federation's Executive Secretary, Mr. I. J. Miller.

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FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE'S FIRST MISSION BRITISH VISITORS SEE THE SIGHTS

The first national study mission of the Anglo-Israel Friendship League visited Israel during the first two weeks in March.

"The visit was a definite success," reported John Levy, who led the group which consisted of leaders and representatives from different branches. "We had people with a wide range of interests. We tried to cater to as many of these interests as possible."

Cllr. C. Hannington, deputy leader of the Conservative party in Haringey, for instance, was interested in basic current political issues while Miss Margaret Quass, Assistant Director of the Council for Education and World Citizenship of the UNA, was concerned with inter-state relationships and programmes of aid to the Arabs. H. Shelton, principal of the Hornsey College of Arts, was interested in the aesthetic and cultural aspects of life in Israel.

Other members of the mission were Mr. Sidney Ormerod, JP, FRICS, FI, and wife (Manchester), Mr. and Mrs. Edward Haines (Manchester), Mr. and Mrs. John Eivan (Edinburgh Friends of Israel), Mr. Norman Aronson and his wife, Dr. L. Newman (Camden), and Rev. Keith Johnson (Wembley League).

In-depth briefing sessions on the social, economic, political and military aspects of life in Israel were re-inforced by on-the-spot visits, illustrating the issues which had been raised and explored.

In Jerusalem the group also met with Ra'anana Sivan, former Consul-General in London, who discussed in detail Jerusalem's housing and social welfare problems, Judge Baker of the Israel Supreme Court, Lucien Harris of Hadassah Hospital, and Father Bruno Husar, a Dominican Priest whose Church is active in promoting programmes of Arab-Israel rapprochement.

At a youth club for Arab and Israeli youth in East Jerusalem, members spoke with the youngsters and their counselors.

The efforts of the UN as well as those of Israel in regard to the rehabilitation of Arab refugees were brought to the group's attention by Mr. J. Ross, civilian head of the UN Technical Mission in Israel.

At a reception given by the Israel Office of the British Zionist Federation, the study group met representatives of the Israel community. They included Moshe Shamir, author, and former Director of Aliyah in the United Kingdom, Moshe Rosetti, former clerk of the Israel Knesset, and Dr. David Stamler, former principal of Carmel College who emigrated to Israel two years ago.

Founded in London 11 years ago, the League aims to develop friendship and sympathetic understanding in Britain for the State of Israel by working through

people whose influence commands respect in their communities. Through programmes, meetings and personal contacts with those dealing with different aspects of life in Israel, it also sees as its broader goal the promotion of a clearer understanding of the Arab-Israel conflict, and an awareness of Israel's place within the larger context of the entire Middle East.

ZF CHILDREN'S CHOIR ON BBC

The choir of the Clapton Jewish Day School will be heard on Sunday morning's "Sing Alleluiah" programme on Radio Two beginning at 8.32 a.m. The songs were recorded at the school at the end of last term.

THE IMPACT OF ISRAEL

"It is sheer hypocrisy for anyone to suggest that the Israelis are denying freedom of access to the holy places of the different religions", declared Neville Sandelson, MP, when he addressed the Labour Friends of Israel in Leeds.

Sandelson, who recently returned from a study mission organised by the Friends—he was the only Jew on the trip—said that all his colleagues returned as "true friends" of Israel.

Another member of the mission, James Johnson, MP for Hull West, said that Mrs. Golda Meir had told them that Sadat was not the leader that Nasser was. "In my opinion, Moscow and Washington could settle peace in the Middle East within a week if they so wished".

Alan Yates, a British trade unionist, expressed great admiration for the work of the Histadrut for the Arabs in East Jerusalem. The meeting was presided over by Ernest Hayhurst, chairman of the Leeds Labour Friends of Israel and regional secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union.

LETTERS

ZIONISM AND FREE SPEECH

From the chairman of the
Zionist Federation

Sir, — Your correspondents Stephen Vines (March 31) and John de Frece (April 7) have identified themselves as being amongst those who did their utmost to disrupt the proceedings of the recent ZF Conference, but accuse me

THE ZIONIST FEDERATION OF GREAT BRITAIN & NORTHERN IRELAND Organisation Department

24th Anniversary Yom Ha'Atzmaut

will be celebrated on

WEDNESDAY, 19th APRIL 1972 at 7.45 p.m.

FLORENCE MICHAEL HALL,
St. John's Wood Synagogue, Grove End Road, NW8

Guest Speaker: **MR. E. RUPPIN,**
Minister Plenipotentiary of The Israel Embassy

Entertainment provided by

The Pioneer Women Choir

Mr. Uri Bialler
Accordianist

Ha'ruach
Folk Song Group

Rev. C. Graniewitz, Cantor of West End Great Synagogue
accompanied by Mr. Stephen Jackson

In the chair: **Mr. A. Kramer, LL.B.,** Chairman of The Zionist Federation
Mr. Sidney Shipton, LL.B. (Lond), General Secretary, Zionist Federation,
Rex House, 4/12 Regent Street, SW1Y 4PG

of being "chutzpadik" and of talking rubbish, when I expressed the view that the disrupters could not be Zionists, and that ~~their~~ conduct was un-Jewish. Such epithets of abuse are indeed almost restrained in comparison with the language used by this group at the Conference.

As Zionists, we all have the right to express views on the development of Israel, and within the Federation there is bound to be a great diversity of such views. I do not, however, accept that the preaching of a political dogma which is utterly opposed to the conception of Israel as basically the national homeland of the Jewish people can be reconciled with any form of Zionism.

The slogans and epithets hurled at the delegates by the members of IPSAG expressed such an attitude towards Israel, that makes it difficult for me to accept that Mr. Vines and his colleagues can rightly claim to be working for "a concept of Zionism as a human and progressive force working for the national and social liberation of the Jewish people".

Your correspondents do not explain that IPSAG is not affiliated to the Zionist Federation, and that in that capacity it had no place at the Conference. I do not propose to go into the details of the methods that were adopted to obtain entry as delegates to the Conference, but no one could be in any doubt that they came to the Conference for the express purpose of disrupting the proceedings and to obtain a public platform—which is presumably otherwise unavailable to them—for the indulgence of their abuse of the Jewish State.

It is gratifying to know that some members of IPSAG are contemplating aliyah—they will at least find themselves in a country where their views, whether popular or otherwise, may be freely expressed.

A. Kramer,
CHAIRMAN.

Zionist Federation,
Rex House,
4-12, Regent St., S.W.1.

BOROCHOV DISTORTED

Sir, — I do not intend to intervene in the arguments between the Chairman of the Z.F. and the I.P.S.A. Group, as I was not present at the Conference. I find, however, Mr. Vines' letter so inexcusably arrogant, that it should not be allowed to go without a reply. It is obvious that only he and his friends are the sole holders of the true revelation whose prophets were Hess, Borochoy etc. All Zionist parties which oppose him are either fossils or impostors.

Unfortunately, he does not quote one word from Hess or Borochoy and, knowing their writings, it would be impossible for him. Hess' *Rome and Jerusalem* and

his other essays are most difficult philosophical discourses but deal nowhere with the question and relations of Arabs and Jews.

As to Borochoy, a number of his assumptions were wrong, such as his belief in the emptiness of Palestine in deducing the Zionist solution. But there are disciples of the Israeli Labour parties who have known him or were his disciples and I rather follow their interpretation than the one going forth from Reading.

Surely a Socialist/Zionist group should have a number of parties whose ideology should appeal to them. It is, however, clear that their name is absolutely misleading, as they are neither an Israeli party nor Zionist. The fact that they include Palestine in their name reveals their intention to appeal to the New Left, Matzpen or the Palestine Liberation Front, just as their talk of oppressing the Arabs.

If he means the Israeli Arabs, it is completely untrue and, if it refers to the occupied territories, then he should show that nation at war which treats occupied people better. Neither Mao in Tibet nor Brezhnev in Czechoslovakia can be his idols. As to the Arabs, there is not one country except Lebanon, where minorities have any rights, not even the Kurds or Assyrians who lived there long before the Arab conquest.

Surely for the last hundred years we had more than enough literary explanations of socialism and many socialist governments, but the only successful image of a free and humane socialism has been created by the Kibbutz movement in Israel. IPSAG has to start to learn from them and not try to teach ready made, undigested slogans.

Dr. Alfred Fleiss

Walmar House,
296, Regent Street,
London, W.1.

[This correspondent is now closed—
Ed. J.O.]

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IN MEMORIAM

REMEMBRANCE DAY, APRIL 18, FOURTH YEAR: In proud and grateful memory of the soldiers of Betar, Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Fighters for the Freedom of Israel. Condemned to death on the gallows: Shlomo Ben Yosef, Eliahu Hakim, Eliahu Bet Tzuri, Dov Gruner, Yehiel Dresner, Eliezer Kashani, Mordechai Alkashi, Moshe Barazani, Meir Feinstein, Yaakov Weiss, Meir Nakar, Avshalom Habib. THEY DIED THAT ISRAEL MIGHT BE REBORN.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Tuesday, April 18

EDGWARE POALE ZION ZIONIST SOCIETY, MIZRACHI and WIZO Yom Ha'atzmaut 5732 present concert and film show, Hebrew and Yiddish songs by the Pioneer Women Choir, latest films from Israel. Refreshments. Speakers: Mr. S. Clinton Davis, M.P. and Mr. Harold Miller. Mr. I. N. Feldman will preside. At the Rosh Pinah School, Mowbray Road, Edgware at 7.45 p.m. Donation in aid of the JPA. Members and guests 50p.; children 25p.

MUSWELL HILL ZIONIST SOCIETY Yom Ha'atzmaut Function will include the Y.P.Z. Israeli Dance Troupe, the Rev. Binstock, Hebrew and Yiddish Songs. Guest Speaker, Mr. Shimon Avizemer, former Consul at the Israel Embassy in India and Gt. Britain. To be held at the Rose Epstein Hall, Muswell Hill Synagogue, Tetherdown, N.10, at 8 p.m. Entrance 35p including refreshments.

SELIG BRODETSKY ZIONIST SOCIETY present the Y.P.Z. Israeli Dance Troupe, with music for dancing. Guest Speaker: Mr. Reuvin Brin, former Military Governor of Samaria. Other distinguished guests including M.Ps and select dignitaries, to be held at the Kenton and District Synagogue, Shaftesbury Avenue, Kenton. Entrance £1 including Wine and Refreshments.

THE WEMBLEY SYNAGOGUE in association with the **WEMBLEY ZIONIST SOCIETY** and **J.N.F. COMMISSION**—Thanksgiving service for Yom Ha'atzmaut will take place at 8.15 p.m. in the Wembley Synagogue, Forty Avenue. This will be followed by Refreshments and social in the Bessie Clapham Hall attached to the Synagogue.

Wednesday, April 19

CLAPTON ZIONIST SOCIETY together with the **COMMUNITY, WIZO** and **DALSTON ZIONIST SOCIETY** invite you to hear the **WIZO** Choir singing Hebrew and Yiddish songs. Guest Speaker: Mr. Michael Fulton, M.A., at the Abraham Leifer Hall, 47 Lea Bridge Road, E.5, at 7.45 p.m.—8 p.m. Charge: 40p. In the Chair: Mr. Maurice Leifer.

TOTTENHAM & DISTRICT ZIONIST SOCIETY invite you to celebrate Israel Independence Day with Israeli Films at 41 Landsdowne Road, N.17 at 8.30 p.m.

Thursday, April 20

COUNCIL OF JEWS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Lecture by Dov Goldstein on "Czechoslovak Jews in the Building of Israel". 57 Eton Avenue, London, N.W.3 at 8 p.m. Guests welcome. No admission fee.

ACHDUT DIARY

LEEDS — Special meeting to be addressed by Moshe Zilka, head of the Youth and Hechalutz Department of the Jewish Agency. Your Contact: Richard Ellis, telephone 0532-685890.



**Produced by the
JPA Publicity Department
Rex House
4-12 Lower Regent Street
London SW1 Tel 01-930 5152**



MICHAEL SACHER

Sacher's Three Line Whip

FOR the third time in three months Michael Sacher, Chairman of the JPA has summoned leaders of the campaign to a priority meeting to plan the final phase of Operation Lifeline.

Great interest has been aroused in this National Campaign Leaders Meeting at Michael House on April 27, organisers at Rex House have reported, because of the expected arrival of special guest speaker Ezra Shapiro, Chairman of the Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal since this will be his first major meeting in Britain.

Seven hundred leaders of the campaign have been invited to meet Mr. Shapiro, an eminent United States lawyer who took over the chairmanship of the Keren Hayesod last August. He is responsible for fund raising on behalf of Israel in sixty-nine countries.

Those invited will also meet a newly arrived immigrant to Israel from Russia.

RIVLIN-BROKEN PROMISES

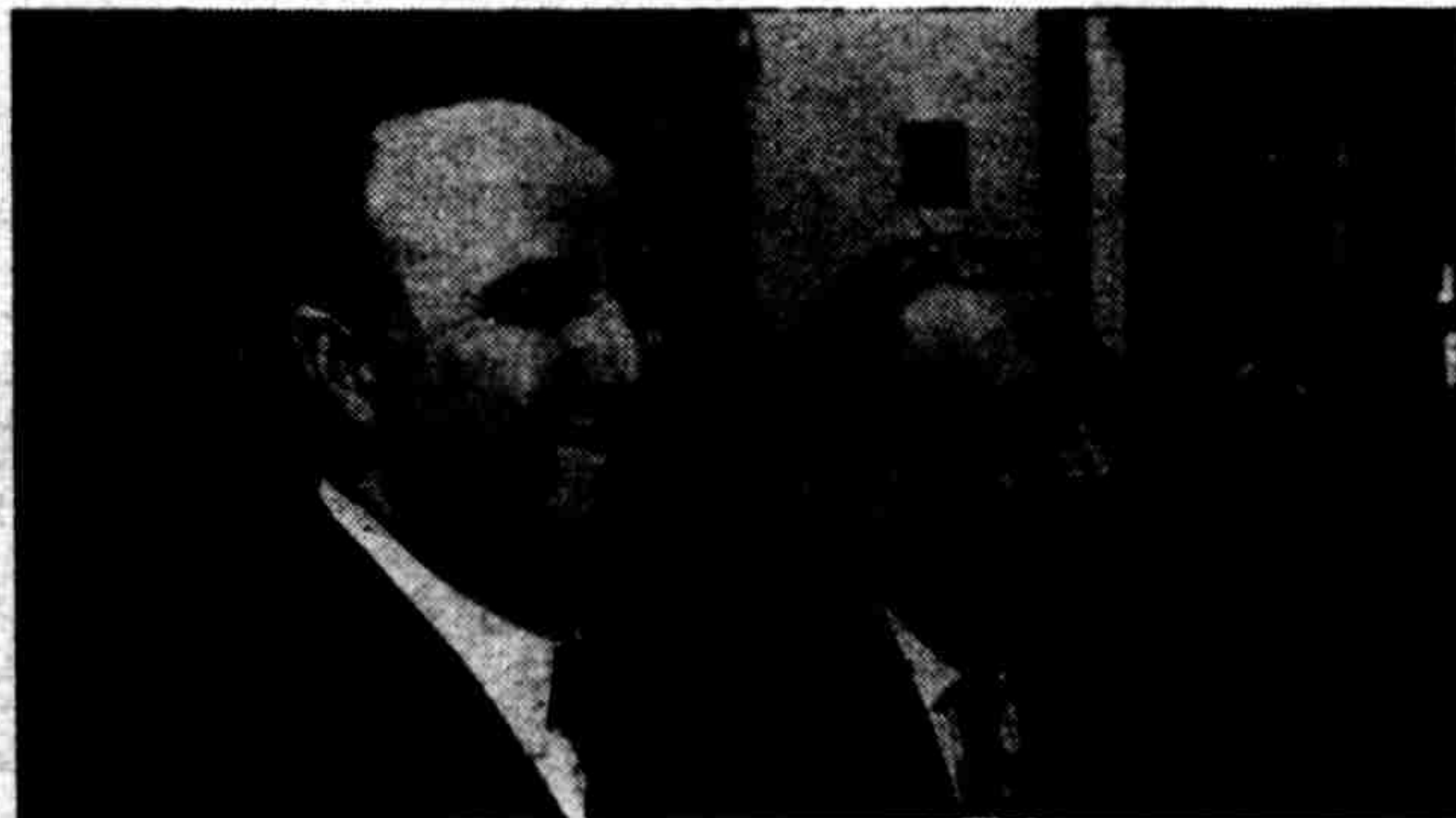
AT North-West Reform's annual appeal, Jewish Agency Director-General, Moshe Rivlin, appealed to Jewry to honour the promise it made in 1948 and pay the full amount for immigration in any one year. "Unfortunately," Mr. Rivlin said, "Jewry has not kept its promise and we in Israel have had to pay two-thirds of the cost and you one third."

Speaking to some forty-five people in the home of committee member, Cyril King, he went on: "We can no longer pay for immigration, social welfare and education and must ask Jewry to now

share the burden with us."

Referring to immigration from many parts of the world, Mr. Rivlin said that the cost of Russian aliyah during 1972 would mean £76,500,000 and this would have to be borne by world Jewry. The response was a near best ever for N.W.

Reform with pledges amounting to some £15,000. Rev. P. Cohen who took the chair thanked Mr. Rivlin for his address and promised that N.W. Reform would play its full part in the '72 JPA Campaign and that members not present would be approached within the next few weeks.



MR. M. RIVLIN, REV. P. COHEN

Brighton's Young Act

STRESSING how inspiring it was to see young people taking an active interest in Jewish and Israeli affairs, Mr. Y. Rager, Political Counsellor at the Israel Embassy called upon Brighton's Young Leadership to continue to shoulder the responsibility for financing the absorption of immigrants from countries of persecution.

Formally, he said, even as late as eight years ago, there were Jews who wanted to write off those in the Soviet Union but many didn't and the Russian Jews themselves refused to be written off.

Addressing twenty-three guests at the Brighton home of Mr. and Mrs. D. Alexander, David Glass making the appeal called this a momentous period in Jewish history. The appeal raised £2,400.

Western Total Reaches £50,000

FORTY guests at the home of Mrs. E. Sharpe heard Mr. Matityahu Dagan, Consul General at the Israel Embassy sketch a picture of current problems in Israel and some of the difficulties which will

have to be faced in coming years.

Mr. Arnold Lee, chairman made the appeal to the Western Synagogue committee which raised £50,000. The total for the whole of last

year was £40,000.

Mr. Sidney Jaque, president of the Western Synagogue proposed the vote of thanks to the speaker and Rabbi M. Turetsky thanked Mrs. Sharpe.

The committee are now to launch a canvassing drive to approach those donors who have not yet contributed to the '72 appeal.

Kitty Laurie, wife of Michael Laurie, chairman of the JPA's Chelsea committee died recently. Her death will be a great loss to the JPA to which she devoted much time and energy.



MR. D. SHARPE, MR. S. PREVEZER, MR. A. LEE

NOT fair you'll say. Not entirely. Israel's new immigrants can obtain apartments and mortgage loans that are unavailable to the average Israeli. While most Israelis agree with the need for immigration, many of the younger generation harbour resentment on this point. Most of the resentment has been created through lack of education and information on the subject. The government must carry out a public relations job on its own people!

It's not difficult to see, however, how dissatisfaction arises. There are various categories of housing accommodation and mortgage loans available to new immigrants. A family willing to settle in a development town in an outlying area such as Dimona near the Dead Sea or Kiryat Shemona on the Lebanese border can obtain a flat from the Jewish Agency with relative ease although, of course, the increase in Russian immigration has put a tremendous pressure on development town construction too, since immigrants are generally sent to these towns.

The immigrant pays a low monthly rent determined by the size and location of the apartment. He can put this towards purchasing his home at any time within his first three years in Israel by making a small — ten to fifteen per cent — downpayment and receiving an easy long-term mortgage. Only families and single people above the age of 35 for women and 40 for men are eligible.

Immigrant apartments with an option to buy in urban centres are available to families only. The apartments range from 602 square feet to 907 square feet. During the first year of occupancy there is a thirty per cent rent reduction; twenty per cent during the second year and ten per cent during the third year.

HOUSING standards for new immigrants are particularly high. Flats cost about £4,000. New immigrants can and do purchase apartments on the open market. Prices have soared since the Six Day War and in Jerusalem a three-bedroomed flat, for example, can cost £16,000 upwards! Should immigrants decide to buy on the open market they too have the benefit of special rate mortgages.

An immigrant family or couple is entitled to receive a mortgage of up to £3,200. This goes up to £5,000 in Jerusalem. Single people over the age of 35 (female) and 40 (male) receive up to £2,500; single retired people over the age of 60 (female) and 65 (male), £1,500. In no case is the mortgage more than 75 per cent of the cost of the apartment.

There are many problems of adjust-



A Question of Priorities



By
**MARA
KUCHBA**



ment involved in immigration. Employment, education, social services all play major roles in the success of absorbing new immigrants into Israeli society. No problem, however, is more acute than housing.

When a new immigrant arrives, the first thing he wants to know is where he is going to live. Be he an affluent academic from a Western country, an illiterate peasant from North Africa or a hopeful Jew from the Soviet Union, where he will make his home in Israel is the primary question on his mind. And it is no secret that an acute shortage of apartments today presents Israel with an immediate problem that must be solved.

Last year 6,000 families received housing units on favourable terms and 3,000 received mortgages at reduced 'new immigrant' rates. This amounts to what the Ministry of Housing calls 9,000 'housing solutions'. The government consistently claims that immigrant housing cannot be increased at the expense of the Israeli citizen and backs this up with statistics. For example, the government takes the case of young couples recording that 'housing solutions' for them had been increased from 3,000 to 7,000 and this was woefully inadequate.

Part of the problem of building apartments, aside from lack of sufficient funds is backward methods in both management and construction techniques.

Speaking recently at the fiftieth convention of the Engineers and Architects Association, Minister of Housing, Ze'ev Sharef promised 'radical action' in industrialising the building industry. Because of delays in the supply of building materials, the government is losing some £1.5 million a month and the loss of building time is reducing the building programme by at least one thousand housing units a year. Minister Sharef also noted the lack of proper production management and modern building equipment. The Minister will give loans to contractors for the purchase of modern equipment without which Israel stands little chance of coping with the requirements of speedy construction.

What about the Israeli citizen? Well, if he wants to buy a new apartment he can resort to a bank where a £2,000 mortgage for ten years costs him fourteen per cent interest!

Not fair you say. A new immigrant, starting life in a new country, needs more help than the native to get established. More important, immigration is the very essence of Israel, its *raison d'être*. Israel was after all established for the Jewish people everywhere.

2 PAGES**JNF NEWS****TARGET SMASHED**

Younger JNF has smashed its two-year target of £90,000 by no less than £32,650. This amazing result was announced to the 450 delegates to the YJNF annual conference and convention held over the weekend at the Queens Hotel, Leeds.

Treasurers Malcolm Hyams and Ralph Lennard reported that in the first twelve months of their target, £54,450 was raised. With a few weeks of the second period still to go, a record £68,200 had already been collected for their current project — Moshav Ohad, in south-west Israel. The surplus would go towards their next project.

The largest amount raised by any one committee was the £19,000 of Court, a London Committee. This entitled them to the Queen's Competition title but as they won it the previous year they decided to concede the title to

Dublin, who raised just over £10,000. Their "queen", Roselyn Jackson, was awarded the prize of a trip to Israel with YJNF this summer. Third came Sands, of Blackpool, with Key 21, of Southend 4th.

Richard Manning, the YJNF national chairman, said that these figures confirmed them as "the number one organisation of young Jewish people in this country."

Although Court did not take the Queen's title, they did win two other trophies; the quiz final, gaining revenge for last year's defeat by Newcastle, and the cup for the committee selling the most raffle tickets.

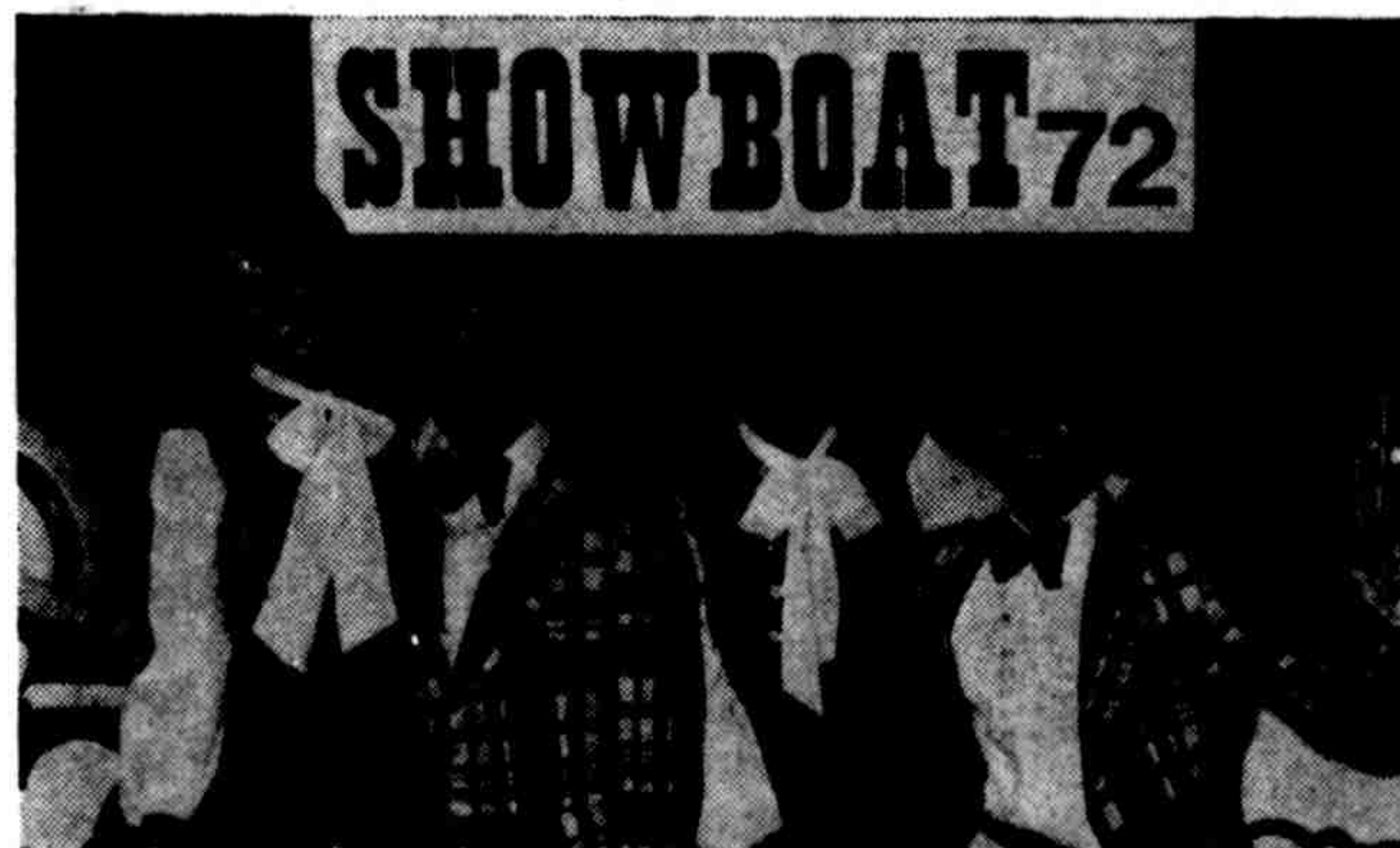
The raffle prize, a Mini car presented by the Lex Service group, was won by Mrs. A. Alleson, of Liverpool.

After the "coronation ball" on Saturday night, the Sunday morning session was devoted to discussions on fund-raising, led by the fund-raising chairmen John Blaskey and Ian Ellis; public relations, led by Roger Simmons, YJNF's p.r. officer; and membership and development, led by Michael Spector and Anthony Wynbourne.

At the public session in the afternoon guests included Mr. Ronald Nathan, executive director of the

JNF, who brought greetings from the senior movement; Mr. H. Brown, president of the Leeds Jewish Representative Council; Mr. Eddie Flaxman, chairman of the Leeds Zionist Council; Mr. Phil Rozelaar, of the JNF's administrative committee; Mr. Louis Ellis, vice-chairman of Leeds JNF; Mr. Zvi Wineberg, of the JNF head office in Jerusalem; and Mr. Jakob Biron, organising secretary of Leeds JNF.

In a slide lecture presented by Michael Spector, YJNF's new image and corporate identity were launched. A membership campaign is to be conducted during the year.

**Do-it-yourself cabaret by Just 12**

Marion and Barry Pearl (left) with Sonia and Barry Levy

The fifth annual dinner and ball of the Just 12 JNF Fellowship, held at the Dorchester Hotel on Sunday, was an outstanding event in many respects.

Not only did it produce the record total of over £16,000 — which will take the committee's total for the year to past the £20,000 mark — but also it provided a cabaret with a difference for the capacity 500 guests.

For the entertainment was performed solely by

the members of the committee themselves. They sang and danced to the delight of the audience, who at the end of the performance were on their feet shouting for more.

Secret lessons in dancing, taken for several weeks before the event by the committee members, helped to produce the near-professional standard.

The appeal was made by Just 12 chairman Barry Pearl and the hosts were Barry and Sonia Levy.

Film scoop!

JNF has been fortunate in securing for a charity performance the British premiere of a film shot entirely in Israel. The premiere will be at the Ritz Cinema, Leicester Square, on May 17.

The film, a thriller called "The Jerusalem File", has three leading British actors in the international cast. They are Nicol Williamson, Donald Pleasance and Ian Hendry.

The film is set in Israel in the period after the Six Day War. Nicol Williamson plays a professor at the Hebrew University, with Donald Pleasance as the security chief of Shin Bet.

Tickets at £3.50, £2.50, £1.50 and 75p can be obtained from L. Schuster in the JNF functions department at Rex House.

HOW THE BUDGET HELPS

There has been an encouraging response to the article and advertisement printed on these pages on March 24 giving details of how one can benefit the JNF or other charities by means of reversionary trusts.

While the Budget proposals announced a few days earlier did not cause any basic change in the scheme, they have worked to its advantage in one important respect.

The estate duty exemption limit has been increased from £12,500 to £15,000 (with an additional £15,000 to the surviving spouse). This means that if a man dies and leaves

£30,000 to his widow, no estate duty will be paid because the first £15,000 is automatically exempt and the other £15,000 is also exempt as a bequest to the surviving spouse.

A further concession is that gifts to charity up to £50,000 are not now accountable for estate duty purposes, i.e. no estate duty deduction will be made on the first £50,000 of any bequest to charity.

Details of how reversionary trusts can benefit Israel can be obtained from H. Rothman, JNF Bequests Department, Rex House, 4-12 Regent St., S.W.1. (01-930 5152).

Provincial workers meet

Delegates from a number of provincial centres, large and small, will be attending the regional conference of leading JNF workers in the provinces, to be held at the Midland Hotel, Manchester, this Sunday.

Presiding over the conference will be Mr. Sol Davies, of Liverpool, who is chairman of JNF fund-raising and development.

The director of British JNF, the Rev. Dr. Isaac Levy, will address delegates on "The JNF in the Seventies".

Discussions in the afternoon will centre on methods of increasing JNF revenue, consolidating existing commissions and creating new ones.

Younger JNF in the 70s A New Image Be part of the YJNF Revolution 'Social life with a purpose'

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Oracle 17+ (Hendon & Wembley)
Rendezvous 23+ (N.W. London)
Xanadu 20+ (Wembley, Kenton, Harrow)
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Midland Region

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Northern Region

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Manchester West 1
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Scope 69 (Manchester & District)
Southport
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The Persuaders 17+ (Leeds)
Spectrum 19+ (Leeds)

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Middle East and Maghreb Topics

April, 1972

A SOVIET STEPPING-STONE TO THE GULF

The Iraqi-Soviet treaty of friendship and cooperation, concluded on April 9, 1972, during the visit of Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin, was described by President Bakr as "a sound and strong basis for our relations in the future, which are founded on mutual respect, solidarity in the struggle and joint interests". For the Soviet Union, however, the treaty is designed to achieve much more than the simple formalisation of its relations with one Arab country - a country with which it has still considerable actual or potential differences on regional and international questions. It sees the treaty as a major step towards consolidating its ambitions in the Gulf by confirming the Soviet presence in a strategically-situated, oil-producing country; and the Russians may well intend to use it as a bargaining counter in their talks with President Nixon during his forthcoming visit to Moscow, both as a means of threatening European and American oil interests in the Middle East and as part of a campaign to create a ring of friendly (or at least non-hostile) States around the southern borders of the Soviet Union.

This latter policy also explains the visit to Turkey from April 11 of President Podgorny, and the comment in Kosygin's speech at the conclusion of the treaty that "this treaty is not directed against any other country; it does not infringe upon anybody's legitimate interests". The Soviet Union will now have to convince Iran that the accord does not indicate Soviet partiality in her dispute with Iraq and does not threaten the future development of Soviet-Iranian relations. On the other hand, the terms of the treaty, with its references to "firmly pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems and pursuing a peace-loving foreign policy" (Article 3), suggest that Moscow may hope to put pressure on the Iraqi Government to modify its stand on the Arab-Israeli conflict and on other questions where Iraqi militancy might threaten Soviet interests. But as a concession to Iraqi feelings, the treaty omits the passage that appears in the Soviet-Egyptian friendship treaty, signed in May, 1971, calling for "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and safeguarding it in accordance with UN principles and objectives". Instead, the parties agree to "continue to wage an unrelenting struggle against

imperialism and Zionism, and for the full, final and unconditional elimination of imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism and apartheid", and call for "the immediate and complete implementation of the UN declaration on the granting of independence to all colonised countries and peoples".

Further comparison between the treaties shows many basic similarities and some significant differences. In both, the parties agree to develop cooperation in a wide range of economic, technical, cultural and scientific activities; to hold regular consultations; to hold immediate discussions in the event of a threat to peace; not to enter any pact or alliance directed against each other. In the Soviet-Egyptian treaty, the article dealing with defence and military cooperation concentrates exclusively on Soviet aid to the Egyptian armed forces; in the Iraqi treaty, however, each party contracts to strengthen the defence capabilities of the other and there is a provision that neither shall allow its territory to be used for any action that might cause military harm to the other - a clear indication of Soviet interest in safeguarding its southern frontiers.

Another major difference is to be found in the much lower Soviet assessment of Iraqi, as opposed to Egyptian, Socialism, implied by the formulation of Article 2 in each treaty. Egypt was described as having "adopted the change to a Socialist society as its aim" - a formula that was not employed in the Soviet-Iraqi treaty, despite the fact that Iraq is ruled by the Ba'ath Party, which describes itself as "Socialist". The omission of any Soviet endorsement of Iraqi Socialism is due to the existence in Iraq of a Communist Party (the Egyptian Communist Party dissolved itself in 1965). The article does, however, underline Moscow's interest in threatening Western oil interests by including "respect for the sovereignty of each of the two parties over all their natural resources" - a phrase absent from the treaty with Egypt.

Panic Measure

The Iraqi-Soviet treaty further promises that differences of opinion will be settled in a spirit of "friendship, understanding and mutual respect". The omission of this article from the Soviet-Egyptian treaty does not imply that no disagreements exist or are likely to arise in relations between the Soviet Union and Egypt. On the contrary, the treaty with Egypt was to some extent a panic measure by the Soviet Union, which felt that its vital interests were threatened by President Sadat's search for a less committed foreign policy. The treaty with Iraq on the other hand is a deliberate move to extend Soviet influence at the time of the withdrawal of British forces from the Gulf. It is being concluded despite the evident anxiety of Iraq's neighbours, despite the basic disagreement between the two countries over a political solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and despite the misgivings of a number of Arab governments. Libya has openly opposed the treaty which she considers a violation of the Arab League Charter and has withdrawn her Ambassador, and Syria, Iraq's Ba'athist neighbour, is said to have resisted the offer of a similar treaty (the French newspaper, *Le Monde*, April 11).

The new status accorded to Iraq by Moscow is unlikely to help her efforts to end her isolation in the Arab world. Libya, as a partner with Egypt and Syria in the Federation of Arab Republics, will be even more suspicious of Iraqi proposals for Arab unity, despite basic agreement in the Libyan and Iraqi stands on Israel and the Palestinians. Nor will the treaty improve Iraqi relations with countries outside the Middle East. Until now, Iraq has been able to claim neutrality in the Sino-Soviet dispute and has expressed a desire to improve her relations with China; she evidently hoped, at the time of the visit of an Iraqi delegation to Peking in January, to obtain a firm Chinese commitment to the Iraqi position in the dispute with Iran. *Le Monde* commented on April 11 that the treaty was clearly a move by the Soviet Union to pre-empt Chinese attempts to increase their influence in the Gulf. As a result, the Ba'ath regime will have gained some prestige and a powerful ally, which may help to bolster its position within the country. But in exchange, it has offered the Russians a stepping-stone towards their political and strategic ambitions, which involve considerations far beyond Soviet concern for Iraq or even for the Arab world as a whole.

Mr Allen ✓

Mr Graham

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 35
- 4 MAY 1972

NBR3/303/1

IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY

- Flag A 1. Mr Graham has minuted on the attached copy of Moscow telegram number 509 "I hope we can brand this as the Second Baghdad Pact. Could IRD not do something by way of comparing the relevant clauses with the Baghdad Pact Treaty which the Iraqis rejected - or the BBC?"
- Flag B 2. Clearly this general thought had also occurred to the Editor of the "Jewish Observer" (edition of 14 April attached).
3. Since there might well be a danger of harming the image of CENTO (whose precursor the Baghdad Pact was), if we were to promote the analogy too actively, I think we might leave it to the media to pick it up if they are so inclined. It would, in any case, be difficult, given the dissimilarity between the two Treaties, to make any paragraph by paragraph comparison.
4. I have asked IRD to look into the possibility of commissioning a general critical article.

B Smith
Middle East Dept

17 April 1972

Copy to: Mr Parsons

I agree. The Treaty will
of course be fully analysed in "The Economist"
"Middle East Topics" and in more public output
eg. IRD's "Middle East Topics"

Mr. Smith
Mr. Allen.

We cannot damage the image of
CENTO in Arab countries more than it is already!
What about the Portsmouth Treaty? I had in mind
in any case that the damaging comparison would be
unattributable. I confess that I think we also may be
missing/

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missing an opportunity. We don't have to
be too scrupulous in current propaganda in Arab
countries. Nobody will have read the texts.

A. H. Grahns
18/4.

Miss Hayis (RD) - Please see H. Grahns comments. I
have seen, and attach, the MENT
article you commissioned.

19/4

pub



Miscellaneous No. 5 (1955)

Kitcher

Accession

of the United Kingdom to the Pact of Mutual Co-operation
between Turkey and Iraq signed at Bagdad
on February 24, 1955

with Special Agreement between the Government of
the United Kingdom and the Government
of Iraq and Exchanges of Notes

Presented by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Parliament

by Command of Her Majesty

March 1955

Pakistan Feb 11 55 ?

Iran Oct 11 55 ?

LONDON

HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

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**ACCESSION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO THE PACT OF
MUTUAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN TURKEY AND IRAQ.
AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ.**

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INTRODUCTION

It is the intention of Her Majesty's Government that the United Kingdom should accede to the Pact of Mutual Co-operation between Turkey and Iraq⁽¹⁾ in accordance with Article 5 thereof. Her Majesty's Government also intend to conclude, in accordance with the Article 1 of the Pact, a Special Agreement⁽²⁾ with the Government of Iraq. It is further intended to supplement the Special Agreement by the Exchange between Her Majesty's Ambassador at Bagdad and the Prime Minister of Iraq of two Notes⁽³⁾ with replies, each constituting an agreement between the two Governments on the provisions set out in the Memoranda attached.

(¹) Document No. 1.

(²) Document No. 2.

(³) Document No. 3.

PACT OF MUTUAL CO-OPERATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND TURKEY

Bagdad, February 24, 1955

Whereas the friendly and brotherly relations existing between Iraq and Turkey are in constant progress, and in order to complement the contents of the Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighbourhood concluded between His Majesty the King of Iraq and his Excellency the President of the Turkish Republic signed in Ankara on March 29, 1946, which recognised the fact that peace and security between the two countries is an integral part of the peace and security of all the nations of the world and in particular the nations of the Middle East, and that it is the basis for their foreign policies ;

Whereas article 11 of the Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation between the Arab League States provides that no provision of that treaty shall in any way affect, or is designed to affect, any of the rights and obligations accruing to the Contracting Parties from the United Nations Charter^(*) ;

And having realised the great responsibilities borne by them in their capacity as members of the United Nations concerned with the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East region which necessitate taking the required measures in accordance with article 51 of the United Nations Charter ;

They have been fully convinced of the necessity of concluding a pact fulfilling these aims, and for that purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries :—

His Majesty King Faisal II,

King of Iraq ;

His Excellency Al Farik Nuri As-Said,

Prime Minister ;

His Excellency Burhanuddin Bash-Ayan,

Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

His Excellency Jalal Bayar,

President of the Turkish Republic ;

His Excellency Adnan Menderes,

Prime Minister ;

His Excellency Professor Fuat Koprulu,

Minister for Foreign Affairs ;

who having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

ARTICLE 1

Consistent with article 51 of the United Nations Charter the High Contracting Parties will co-operate for their security and defence. Such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this co-operation may form the subject of special agreements with each other.

ARTICLE 2

In order to ensure the realisation and effect application of the co-operation provided for in article 1 above, the competent authorities of the High Contracting Parties will determine the measures to be taken as soon as the present pact enters into force. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 3

The High Contracting Parties undertake to refrain from any interference whatsoever in each other's internal affairs. They will settle any dispute between themselves in a peaceful way in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

(*) " Treaty Series No. 67 (1946)," Cmd. 7015.

ARTICLE 4

The High Contracting Parties declare that the dispositions of the present pact are not in contradiction with any of the international obligations contracted by either of them with any third State or States. They do not derogate from and cannot be interpreted as derogating from, the said international obligations. The High Contracting Parties undertake not to enter into any international obligation incompatible with the present pact.

ARTICLE 5

This pact shall be open for accession to any member of the Arab League or any other State actively concerned with the security and peace in this region and which is fully recognised by both of the High Contracting Parties. Accession shall come into force from the date of which the instrument of accession of the State concerned is deposited with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

Any acceding State party to the present pact may conclude special agreements, in accordance with article 1, with one or more States parties to the present pact. The competent authority of any acceding State may determine measures in accordance with article 2. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 6

A Permanent Council at ministerial level will be set up to function within the framework of the purposes of this pact when at least four Powers become parties to the pact.

The Council will draw up its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 7

This pact remains in force for a period of five years renewable for other five-year periods. Any Contracting Party may withdraw from the pact by notifying the other parties in writing of its desire to do so six months before the expiration of any of the above-mentioned periods, in which case the pact remains valid for the other parties.

ARTICLE 8

This pact shall be ratified by the contracting parties and ratifications shall be exchanged at Ankara as soon as possible. Thereafter it shall come into force from the date of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof, the said plenipotentiaries have signed the present pact in Arabic, Turkish and English, all three texts being equally authentic except in the case of doubt when the English text shall prevail.

Done in duplicate at Bagdad this second day of Rajab 1374 Hijri corresponding to the twenty-fourth day of February, 1955.

NURI AS-SAID.

For His Majesty the King of Iraq.

BURHANUDDIN BASH-AYAN.

For His Majesty the King of Iraq.

ADNAN MENDERES.

For the President of the Turkish Republic.

FUAT KOPRULU.

For the President of the Turkish Republic.

SPECIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF IRAQ

The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of the Kingdom of Iraq,

Considering that the United Kingdom intends to accede to the Pact of Mutual Co-operation between Iraq and Turkey signed at Bagdad on February 24, 1955 ; and

Desiring as equal and sovereign partners in the Pact to make a Special Agreement in accordance with the provisions of Article 1 of the Pact ;

Have agreed as follows :—

ARTICLE 1

The two Contracting Governments shall maintain and develop peace and friendship between their two countries and shall co-operate for their security and defence in accordance with the Pact of Mutual Co-operation.

ARTICLE 2

The Treaty of Alliance between the United Kingdom and Iraq, signed at Bagdad on June 30, 1930^(*), with annexure and Notes exchanged, shall terminate from the date when the present Agreement comes into force.

ARTICLE 3

The Government of Iraq by the present Agreement undertake no obligations beyond the frontiers of Iraq.

ARTICLE 4

The Government of Iraq assume full responsibility for the defence of Iraq and will command and guard all defence installations in Iraq.

ARTICLE 5

In accordance with Article 1 of the Pact, there shall be close co-operation between the competent authorities of the two Governments for the defence of Iraq. This co-operation shall include planning, combined training and the provision of such facilities as may be agreed upon between the two Contracting Governments for this purpose and with the object of maintaining Iraq's armed forces at all times in a state of efficiency and readiness.

ARTICLE 6

The Government of the United Kingdom shall, at the request of the Government of Iraq, do their best

(a) to afford help to Iraq ;

- (i) in creating and maintaining an effective Iraqi Air Force by means of joint training and exercises in the Middle East ; and
- (ii) in the efficient maintenance and operation of such airfields and other installations as may from time to time be agreed to be necessary ;

(*) " Treaty Series No. 15 (1931)," Cmd. 3797.

(b) to join with the Government of Iraq in

- (i) establishing an efficient system of warning against air attack;**
- (ii) ensuring that equipment for the defence of Iraq is kept in Iraq in a state of readiness; and**
- (iii) training and equipping Iraqi forces for the defence of their country; and**

(c) to make available in Iraq technical personnel of the British forces for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of paragraphs (a) and (b) of this Article.

ARTICLE 7

Service aircraft of the two countries shall enjoy staging and over-flying facilities in each other's territories.

ARTICLE 8

In the event of an armed attack against Iraq or threat of an armed attack which, in the opinion of the two Contracting Governments, endangers the security of Iraq, the Government of the United Kingdom at the request of the Government of Iraq shall make available assistance, including if necessary armed forces to help to defend Iraq. The Government of Iraq shall provide all facilities and assistance to enable such aid to be rapid and effective.

ARTICLE 9

(a) The present Agreement shall come into force on the date on which the United Kingdom becomes a party to the Pact.

(b) The Agreement shall remain in force so long as both Iraq and the United Kingdom are parties to the Pact.

EXCHANGE OF NOTES**No. 1**

The Iraqi Prime Minister to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Bagdad

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to refer to the Special Agreement signed today between the Government of Iraq and the Government of the United Kingdom, and to propose that the provisions set out in the Memorandum attached to this Note should be made for the purpose of giving effect to the Special Agreement.

I have the honour further to propose that, if those provisions are acceptable to the Government of the United Kingdom, this Note and the attached Memorandum, together with your Excellency's reply, shall constitute an agreement between our two Governments, which shall come into force on the same date, and remain in force for the same period as the Special Agreement, and that detailed arrangements shall be made accordingly between the competent authorities of the two Governments.

I have, etc.

Memorandum Attached to Note No. 1

1. (a) Command of Habbaniya, Shaiba and Margil shall pass as from the date of signature of the Special Agreement to the Government of Iraq and Iraqi officers of appropriate rank shall be appointed for this purpose on May 2, 1955.

(b) All flying units of the Royal Air Force now stationed in Habbaniya and Shaiba shall be withdrawn progressively, and their withdrawal shall be completed within one year after the date of signature of the Special Agreement.

(c) As the withdrawal of these flying units proceeds, the Government of the United Kingdom shall also progressively withdraw members of their technical and administrative personnel and personnel of authorised service organisations until only those remain in Iraq who are required for the purpose of the Special Agreement and this Memorandum.

2. (a) Under the Special Agreement, British personnel shall be in Iraq to assist the Iraqi Forces with training and with the installation, operation and maintenance of facilities and equipment, and to service aircraft.

(b) The command and administration of British personnel and installations shall be the responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom and for this purpose the Government of the United Kingdom shall make available the necessary British staff to command and administer them under the overall authority of Iraqi officer in charge of each establishment.

(c) The senior British officer appointed in each case shall act in close liaison with the Iraqi officer in command.

3. The provisions of the Agreement regarding the Status of Forces of Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty, signed in London on June 19, 1951^(*), shall apply to the forces of each Government in the territories of the other Government. Detailed arrangements for the application of those provisions

(*) "Treaty Series No. 3 (1955)," Cmd. 9363.

shall be made by the two Governments as soon as possible. Until such detailed arrangements have been made in Iraq, the provisions at present applicable to British forces there shall continue to apply.

4. (a) In accordance with Article 4 of the Special Agreement, the Government of Iraq shall assume responsibility for the protection of all airfields and installations in Iraq and to this end shall incorporate into the Iraqi Forces those members of the R.A.F. Levies of Iraq, who wish to volunteer. The Government of the United Kingdom shall, for a limited period, make available for loan to the Iraqi forces British personnel, as far as possible from among those now serving with the R.A.F. Levies of Iraq, to facilitate such transfer and integration.

(b) The two Governments shall use their best endeavours to ensure that as many as possible of the civilians at present employed at Habbaniya, Shaiba and Margil shall continue in employment there.

5. The Government of the United Kingdom undertake, in accordance with Article 6 (a) and (c) of the Special Agreement and in order to facilitate the closest co-operation between the air forces of the two countries, to do their best:

(a) to provide expert advice and assistance in operational and technical matters, including the extension of Iraqi airfields, and in the construction of such additional airfields and facilities as may be agreed to be necessary;

(b) to provide personnel to assist in the training of the Royal Iraqi Air Force and to offer continuous consultations regarding methods and techniques of training at all stages;

(c) to arrange that Royal Air Force squadrons and other British aircraft shall make periodic visits to Iraq in accordance with the provisions of the Special Agreement and this Memorandum, in particular for the purpose of joint training at all times;

(d) to make available in Iraq British personnel for the servicing, maintenance and repair of British aircraft as well as for such airfield services as it may be agreed that they should provide on airfields jointly used by both parties;

(e) to grant facilities, including instructional courses abroad, for training Iraqi personnel if suitable facilities are not available in Iraq;

(f) to facilitate as far as possible the supply of necessary aircraft and associated equipment of modern design.

6. The Government of the United Kingdom shall do their best to join with the Government of Iraq in establishing as soon as possible an efficient system for anti-aircraft defence, including radar warning system and a system for aircraft reporting. For these purposes, the Government of the United Kingdom shall make available to the Government of Iraq the co-operation and advice of qualified service and technical personnel.

7. For the purposes of Article 8 of the Special Agreement, the Iraqi land forces shall be so trained as to facilitate closest co-operation with land forces of the United Kingdom and suitably trained and experienced British personnel shall be made available to assist in the training of Iraqi land forces and to attend and advise on field and other exercises. The Government of the United Kingdom shall do their best to facilitate the supply to the Government of Iraq of arms and other appropriate equipment of modern design.

8. The Government of the United Kingdom will co-operate with the Government of Iraq in establishing in advance and maintaining to an agreed standard such maintenance installations, including tank repair facilities, as may be agreed to be necessary in the event of an armed attack for Iraqi forces and British forces co-operating with them. Expert service advice on their siting and construction, and advice and assistance in their maintenance and manning, shall be made available by the Government of the United Kingdom.

9. (a) The Government of the United Kingdom shall make available, as may be agreed between the two Governments, the co-operation and advice of suitably qualified service and technical personnel with a view to the establishment of an organisation for mine watching and mine clearance on the Shatt el Arab.

(b) The Government of Iraq shall continue to permit British naval units to visit the Shatt el Arab at any time on previous notification being given.

10. The existing procedures and facilities under which aircraft, under the control of the R.A.F., overfly, land, refuel and are serviced in Iraq, shall be continued. Similar procedures shall apply and similar facilities shall be made available in the United Kingdom and its dependent territories to aircraft under the control of Royal Iraqi Air Force.

11. (a) The Government of the United Kingdom shall join with the Government of Iraq in establishing in Iraq stocks of military stores and equipment for use by the armed forces of the two countries for the defence of Iraq in the event of an armed attack against Iraq. These stocks shall be stored at sites in Iraq to be agreed between the competent authorities of the two Governments.

(b) The Government of Iraq shall provide the depôts necessary for the safe keeping of those stocks and shall assume full responsibility for their security.

(c) For administrative purposes, stocks which are the property of the Government of Iraq shall be stored separately from those which are the property of the Government of the United Kingdom.

(d) The stocks shall be kept in a state of readiness at all times. Accordingly, provision shall be made for their maintenance, turn-over, inspection and periodical replacement, and each Government shall provide the personnel necessary for those purposes with respect to the stocks belonging to them.

(e) The Government of the United Kingdom may freely dispose of any items of such stocks, the property of the Government of the United Kingdom, which may become surplus to British requirements, subject to the offer of first refusal to the Government of Iraq in the case of any property to be disposed of in Iraq.

12 (a) The Government of Iraq shall make available essential services for the use of British personnel and shall, if necessary, allocate suitable accommodation for them and their families.

(b) Where new installations are from time to time agreed to be necessary for the purposes of the Special Agreement and this Memorandum, the terms of their provision shall be agreed between the two Governments.

No. 1A

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Bagdad to the Iraqi Prime Minister

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Note of today's date proposing that the provisions set out in the Memorandum attached to your Excellency's Note should be made for the purpose of giving effect to the Special Agreement signed today between the Government of Iraq and the Government of the United Kingdom.

I have the honour, in accepting the provisions, to confirm that your Excellency's Note, together with this Note in reply, shall constitute an agreement between our two Governments on the terms of those provisions, which shall come into force on the same date, and remain in force for the same period, as the Special Agreement, and I have the honour to accept your Excellency's further proposal that detailed arrangements shall be made accordingly between the competent authorities of the two Governments.

I have, etc.

No. 2

The Iraqi Prime Minister to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Bagdad

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to refer to the Special Agreement signed today between the Government of Iraq and the Government of the United Kingdom and to our Notes 1 and 1A exchanged this day, and to propose that the provisions set out in the Memorandum attached to this Note should be made for the purpose of giving effect to the Special Agreement and to those Notes.

I have the honour further to propose that, if those provisions are acceptable to the Government of the United Kingdom, this Note and the attached Memorandum, together with your Excellency's reply, should constitute an agreement between our two Governments, which shall enter into force on the same date, and remain in force for the same period, as the Special Agreement.

I have, etc.

Memorandum attached to Note No. 2

(a) All immovable property now in British ownership shall either continue in British ownership or be handed over to the Government of Iraq, or be freely disposed of by the Government of the United Kingdom. Certain installations that will serve the needs of both Governments shall be handed over to the Government of Iraq free of charge. All other immovable property handed over to the Government of Iraq as above shall be paid for at its *in situ* value.

(b) Where installations have been handed over free of charge the Government of the United Kingdom shall enjoy full rights of free user. Where the Government of Iraq have paid for immovable property, they shall be entitled to make a reasonable charge, to be settled by agreement, for its subsequent use by the Government of the United Kingdom.

(c) Each Government shall be responsible for the operation and maintenance of immovable property in their ownership. The two Governments shall agree on the standards to be observed, and, in appropriate cases, the apportionment of costs, in respect of the operation and maintenance of the installations which serve the needs of both Governments.

(d) Movable property required for the operation of any property handed over under paragraph (a) above shall be paid for by the Government of Iraq at full cost, if new, and if used, at a fair valuation. The Government of the United Kingdom shall retain all other movable property and shall have the right to dispose of it in Iraq or elsewhere.

(e) The Government of Iraq will bear the cost of their air warning system and of improving their military airfields to standards to be agreed.

(f) Each Government shall meet the cost of its own forces and any civilian personnel employed by it, except that the cost to the Government of Iraq of British personnel loaned or seconded to the Iraqi forces shall be mutually agreed.

(g) Any other financial questions shall be settled by agreement between the two Governments.

No. 2A

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Bagdad to the Iraqi Prime Minister

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Note of today's date referring to the Special Agreement signed today between the Government of Iraq and the Government of the United Kingdom and to our Notes 1 and 1A exchanged this day, in which your Excellency proposes that the provisions set out in the Memorandum attached to your Excellency's Note should be made for the purpose of giving effect to the Special Agreement and to those Notes.

I have the honour, in accepting the provisions, to confirm that your Excellency's Note, together with this Note in reply, shall constitute an agreement between our two Governments on the terms of those provisions, which shall enter into force on the same date, and remain in force for the same period, as the Special Agreement.

I have, etc.

(e) Each Government shall be responsible for the operation and maintenance of immovable property in their ownership. The two Governments shall agree on the standards to be observed, and, in appropriate cases, the apportionment of costs, in respect of the operation and maintenance of the installations which serve the needs of both Governments.

(f) Movable property reported for the operation of any property handed over under paragraph (e) above shall be paid for by the Government of the United Kingdom shall retain all other movable property and shall have the right to dispose of it in kind or otherwise.

(g) The Government of Iraq will bear the cost of their air warning system and of improving their military facilities to standards to be agreed.

(h) Each Government shall meet the cost of its own forces and any civilian personnel employed by it except that the cost to the Government of Iraq of British personnel loaned or seconded to the Iraqi forces shall be mutually agreed.

(i) Any other financial questions shall be settled by agreement between the two Governments.

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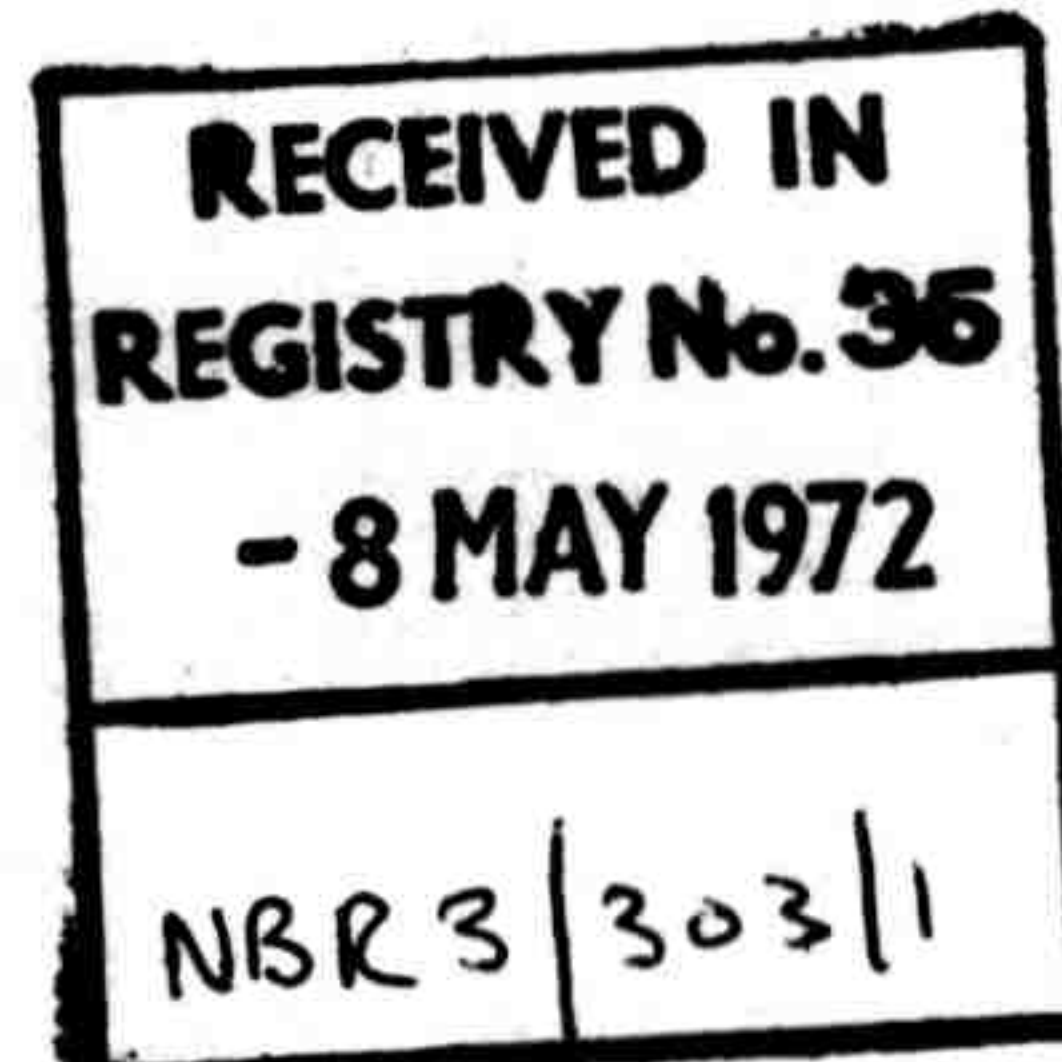
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ROME

3/39

5 May 1972

Near Eastern Department
FCO



Enter

Dear Department,

USSR/IRAQ RELATIONS

1. Di Lorenzo, who is head of the Department in the Italian Foreign Ministry which deals with economic relations with African, Asian and Arab countries mentioned to me yesterday that he would be interested in comparing notes with us about the recent agreement between Iraq and the USSR. In particular the Italians would like to know if we have anything to corroborate a report they have had from their Embassy in Baghdad to the effect that, as a result of this new agreement, Russian loans and credit to Iraq total more than \$2,000 million, at 2½% interest. The previous total had been \$1,100 million - so, in effect, the Russians have virtually doubled their commitment to Iraq.

2. The only paper we have here about the Soviet-Iraqi treaty is JIC(A)(72)(SA)66 of 11 April, and this contains no figures. Is there anything ~~else~~ you can let me have to pass on to the Italians?

Yours ever,
S J G Cambridge
S J G Cambridge

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UNITED KINGDOM DELEGATION TO NATO

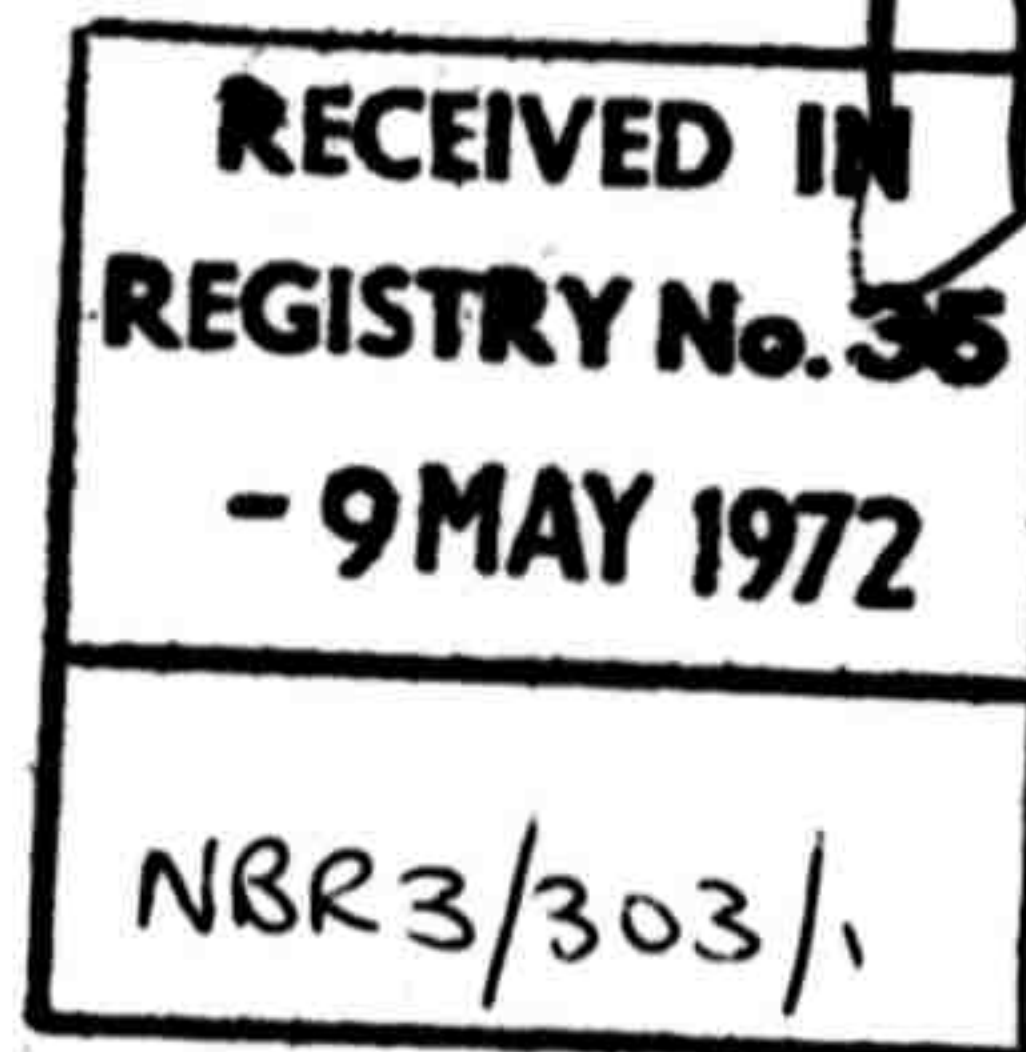
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3/44

4 May 1972

8/15

D G Allen Esq
Middle East Dept
FCO



Smith

36

Dear Allen,

IRAQ/SOVIET TREATY

1. Please refer to your letter NBR/3/303/1 of 28 April to Angela Gillon.
2. In the event, the Political Committee did not deal with this subject on 2 May, but it will probably be considered next week, and we are very grateful for the briefing with which you have provided us. From our point of view, Roy Reeve's minute of 14 April is particularly useful, and we should be glad to learn whether you would have any objection to our circulating it to the other delegations here.
3. The Canadians have now circulated in writing the comments of their embassy in Moscow, and I enclose a copy.

Yours ever,

Roland Smith
R H Smith

see end (42)

enc.

ERB - for you to comment etc

permission given by
telephone

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in 2/15.

Enter

8/15

Political Relations Between Iraq And The Soviet Union; Copy Of 1955 Baghdad Pact Treaty. Political Relations Between Iraq And USSR. 4 May 1972. MS Middle East Online: Iraq, 1914-1974: Selected files from series AIR, CAB, CO, FCO, FO, PREM, T, WO, The National Archives, Kew, UK FCO 8/1898. Newspaper Cutting. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107471630/GDSC?u=webdemo&sid=bookmark-GDSC&xid=8cf9e603&pg=1. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.